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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

AND HER ACCUSERS

EMBRACING

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS FROM THE DEATH OF
JAMES V. IN 1542 UNTIL THE DEATH
OF QUEEN MARY IN 1587

BY

JOHN HOSACK

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

SECOND EDITION, MUCH ENLARGED

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EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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tion of the king, that she commissioned the veteran Randolph to proceed once more to Scotland to conclude the league between the two countries. There was now no serious difficulty in coming to terms. A Parliament had been summoned before Randolph's arrival, which authorised the king to make a treaty with the Queen of England.¹ The Catholic party, although strongly opposed to the measure, were comparatively powerless; and James finally agreed to an offensive and defensive league with Elizabeth, to which his mother was no party, and in which her name was not even mentioned.² Burghley's long-cherished scheme was accomplished at last.

Next to the Master of Gray, Archibald Douglas³

¹ Record Office, copy of Act, 10th December 1585. It would appear from this Act that the royal prerogative was more restricted in Scotland than in England, where the sovereign has always exercised the right of making treaties independent of the Legislature.

² The terms of the treaty were concluded in May, and it was finally signed at Berwick, on 5th July 1586, by commissioners appointed for the purpose. It was stipulated that if England were invaded by a foreign enemy, in any part remote from Scotland, the King of Scots promised to send two thousand horse or five thousand foot to her assistance; if Scotland were invaded, the queen was to furnish three thousand horse or six thousand foot to aid in its defence; and if the invasion of England took place within sixty miles of the English border, James was to join the English army with the whole of his forces. All rebels harboured within either country were to be delivered up, or compelled to depart the realm. No contract was to be made by either prince with any foreign State, to the prejudice of this league; and all former treaties of amity between the predecessors of the two princes were to remain in force. As to the remaining provisions of the treaty, see Record Office, July 5, 1586.

³ "The Master of Gray and Archibald Douglas, which two men remain constant to the queen's majesty's friendship."—Burghley to Leicester, 20th June 1586; Wright, ii. 301. "Mr Archibald Douglas getteth the king's remission for all offences committed under his seal, included in the common terms of *super inquirendis*, and that by means of the Master of Gray and the Justice-Clerk. Yea, howbeit he was guilty of the murder of the king's father, and solicited others to that

was the man by whose advice Burghley and his mistress were mainly guided in the conduct of their policy in Scotland. Being a kinsman of Angus, Douglas had done good service in bringing about the late revolution, and Elizabeth now wrote strongly to James on his behalf. That she should ask him to receive into favour one of his father's murderers was a remarkable request for her to make; that he should readily comply with it was still more remarkable. After a mock trial, in which he was acquitted, through the connivance of the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, his lands and honours were restored to him. The proceeding, even in that day, was regarded with mingled surprise and indignation.

A close alliance with Scotland was at this time of the utmost consequence to Elizabeth; for after twenty years of secret hostility, and innumerable acts of piracy and plunder committed against his subjects, at her instigation or by her connivance, she found herself at last, to her great discomfort and annoyance, at open war with the King of Spain. We have already mentioned that on the death of Don John of Austria, his nephew, Alexander Farnese,¹ Prince of Parma, succeeded to the government of the revolted States; and it seems probable that but for the transcendent abilities of that remarkable man, they would long before this time have achieved their independence.

villanous fact, he was intrusted with the king's affairs, and appointed to be his agent in England; whereat many did wonder."—Calderwood MSS. Yet in the account of Darnley's death contained in this history, no mention is made of Archibald Douglas. The whole blame, as in other Protestant narratives, is thrown upon the queen and Bothwell.

¹ He was the son of the Duke of Parma, and his mother, the regent of the Netherlands, was a daughter of Charles V.

cause of the States openly. Parma had laid siege to Antwerp, the most opulent city in the Netherlands, if not in Europe, and the possession of that important place was believed to be an essential step to Philip's long-meditated scheme for the invasion of England. The representatives of the States entreated Elizabeth, as well for their sake as her own, to take immediate measures for the relief of their commercial capital.¹ Their efforts were warmly seconded by Walsingham, who, now that war with Spain was inevitable, was for proceeding to work in earnest. Parma's army was notoriously too weak² for the enterprise in which he had embarked. A few thousand troops would have turned the scale hopelessly against him, and both in England and in Scotland³ any number of volunteers might have been readily obtained. But it was not in Elizabeth's nature to act consistently, or honestly, or wisely. After innumerable promises and protestations, and resolutions made and broken and resumed again, she finally did nothing, and Antwerp was abandoned to its fate.

While Elizabeth was lost in helpless hesitation, Parma was proceeding vigorously with the siege. With the insignificant force at his command he could not attempt to invest the town; but he managed to cut off all communication between it and the sea, whence it derived nearly the whole of its supplies. With incal-

¹ Proposals of States Commissioners, June; Record Office.

² It consisted of only 8000 men.

³ The Master of Gray offered himself to raise three or four thousand men for service in the Netherlands. See papers relating to the Master of Gray, p. 70. But Elizabeth was of opinion that he was better employed in Scotland, where he had proved himself so useful, than in the Netherlands.

culable labour, and harassed by incessant interruptions by the enemy, he contrived in the middle of winter to throw a fortified bridge of boats across the Scheldt, at a point where it was upwards of half a mile in width.¹ After the work had been completed, it was burst asunder by a cunningly constructed fire-ship, which came drifting down the river from the beleaguered town, and blew to atoms a thousand of his best troops, at a time when he was sorely in need of reinforcements.² But nothing could daunt that indomitable man. Before his enemies could follow up their advantage he had once more knit up and repaired the shattered bridge, which effectually intercepted all traffic on the river, and which, as a military achievement, stands unrivalled in that, or perhaps in any other age. Finding Parma's work impregnable, the besieged made a series of desperate attacks upon his intrenchments, and with his rapidly diminishing forces, his position at times became extremely critical. But he contrived to hold his ground until the approach of famine compelled his opponents to surrender. Antwerp capitulated on the 17th of August, and the triumph of Parma was sullied by none of those scenes of cold-blooded butchery which too often followed a Spanish victory in the Netherlands. To conciliate the people he had conquered, he even agreed that none of his Spanish or Italian troops should accompany him when he entered the town; but that he should be followed only by his Walloons and Germans.³

To oppose this consummate master of the art of war, now in the prime of manhood,⁴ Elizabeth determined

¹ Motley's *United Netherlands*, i. 181.

² *Ibid.*, 196, 197.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 258.

⁴ Parma was at this time thirty-seven years old.

to send her now somewhat antiquated admirer, Leicester, who, although the most accomplished of courtiers and the most unscrupulous of intriguers, had

“Never set a squadron in the field,”

and whose sole qualification for the post seems to have been unbounded confidence in himself. But Leicester was to be accompanied by various soldiers of repute who had served as volunteers under the Prince of Orange, and by a number of young men of rank, all eager for distinction on the great military theatre of Europe.¹ The number of troops to be supplied by the queen was five thousand, the cost of which was to be defrayed by the States. But Elizabeth, knowing the value of her own promises, put no faith in those of others. She insisted on a material guarantee for the repayment of her money; and after months of diplomatic haggling, during which Antwerp might easily have been saved, it was finally agreed that four seaport towns—namely, Brill, Flushing, Sluys, and Ostend—should be placed in her hands.² While Elizabeth was negotiating with the deputies of the States, Drake was preparing for a fresh trip to the Spanish main; and, emboldened by his past successes, he commenced operations by a descent on the coast of Galicia, where, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, he laid the town of Vigo under contribution. Steering thence across the Atlantic, he plundered St Domingo and Carthagená. But the climate told with such fatal effect upon his sailors, that he was compelled to make his way back to England with much less booty

¹ Camden, p. 292.

² Motley's *United Netherlands*, i. chap. vi.

than he had formerly acquired, but with greatly increased renown.¹

On his arrival in Holland, on the 10th of December, Leicester was received with immense enthusiasm;² and the four towns were, in terms of the treaty, occupied by English troops. The queen had expressly commanded him not to accept any commission or post of honour from the States; yet so absolute was his reliance on the royal favour, that, in defiance of her prohibition, he assumed the title of Governor-General, before she was even aware that it had been offered to him. When she heard, therefore, of Leicester's audacity, her rage and fury were boundless. Davison, whom the earl sent from Holland to explain the reasons which had induced him to disobey her, was driven from her presence by a torrent of abuse;³ and Thomas Heneage was ordered to proceed immediately to the Hague, to inform both Leicester and the States, that the appointment he had received must be forthwith cancelled. Yet she afterwards relented, and allowed him to retain the barren dignity during his brief and inglorious career in the Netherlands.

The rage of Elizabeth at the presumption of her favourite was immensely aggravated by a circumstance of which at the time he was profoundly ignorant. With that systematic inconsistency which forms so striking a feature in her character, she had no sooner consented to aid the States openly, than she secretly determined to betray them; and that Burghley lent his countenance to this perfidious scheme is not to be

¹ News of Sir F. Drake, October; Record Office.

² Motley's *United Netherlands*, i. chap. vii.

³ Davison to Leicester, February 17; Record Office.

disputed. The possession of the four Dutch seaports by his mistress gave her an advantage in negotiating with Philip which she never before possessed. By giving them back, not to the States, from whom she had received them, but to the sovereign whose allegiance they had renounced, she might not only make an advantageous peace with that formidable monarch, but divert him from his long-cherished schemes of vengeance against herself. The agents employed to conduct this iniquitous negotiation were two Italian merchants named Grafigni and De Loo, and an Englishman named Bodenham, who had been in the service of the Prince of Parma. At first there was some difficulty on the score of religion. Burghley was quite willing to restore the revolted States to Philip, and even to *compel* them to return to their allegiance, provided he would tolerate the new religion.¹ But eventually even this point was abandoned, and the Spanish emissaries were informed through Lord Buckhurst, who, with Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir James Crofts, the Comptroller of the Household, was in the secret of the peace negotiations, that, in the matter of religion, Elizabeth would be satisfied if Philip would grant to his subjects as much toleration *as his honour and conscience would allow him*.² Elizabeth further stipu-

¹ In a letter to one of the Spanish emissaries, De Loo, dated the 6th March 1586, Burghley expresses himself as follows: "You answered Champagny correctly as to what I said last winter concerning her majesty's wishes in regard to a pacification. *The Netherlands must be compelled to return to obedience to the king*, but their ancient privileges are to be maintained. You omitted, however, to say a word about toleration in the provinces of the Reformed religion. But I said then as I say now, that this is a condition indispensable to peace."—Quoted by Motley, *United Netherlands*, i. 495, from Simancas.

² See Motley, i. 449, and authorities from Simancas there cited.

lated for the repayment of the expenses of Leicester's expedition and of the occupation of the cautionary towns, amounting, it seems, to £76,000. It is difficult to say which of these two conditions was the more extraordinary—the proposed abandonment of her Protestant allies to the “honour and conscience” of Philip, or her demand for the repayment of money which she had lent to his subjects to aid them in their rebellion.

Walsingham, who all along desired that the war in Holland should be prosecuted in earnest, was no party to this intrigue, and through his vigilance it was eventually defeated.¹ By exposing the treachery of Sir James Crofts in presence of the Council,² he forced the queen to deny all knowledge of the affair, and to disown the agents with whom she had taken care not to commit herself personally by word or writing. A mystery which had for sometime perplexed Walsingham was now explained. During these secret negotiations, which lasted several months, the English soldiers in Holland were allowed to starve.³ Leicester, to do him justice, made every effort to relieve them ;⁴

¹ On discovering the scheme he at once acquainted Leicester, in language strongly expressive of his disgust. “To the end,” he says, “your lordship may see what instruments are used in our mediation of peace, I send you the copies of certain letters by good hap come to my hands. I have let her majesty understand how *dangerous and dishonourable* it is for her to have such base and ill-affected ministers used therein. If either your lordship or myself should use such instruments I know we should bear no small reproach ; but it is the good hap of hollow and doubtful men to be best thought of.”—Leicester Correspondence, Walsingham to Leicester, 21st April 1586.

² Motley, i. 514 *et seq.*

³ “Had Burghley and Crofts been in the pay of Philip they could hardly have served him better than they had been doing by the course pursued.”—Motley, p. 520.

⁴ Leicester to Burghley, Aug. 10 ; Leicester Correspondence, 260, 294, 299, 303.

he even pledged his own credit and mortgaged his estates to obtain for them the supplies of which they stood so urgently in need. The care he manifested for his troops was the one redeeming feature of his administration in the Netherlands. But Elizabeth, dreaming only of peace and exchanging compliments with Parma, who could flatter a vain woman as skillfully as he could win a battle or take a city, remained deaf to the calls of humanity, and allowed her soldiers to die literally by thousands for want of food and shelter. To all the representations which were made to her upon the subject she only replied by loudly complaining of the large sums they had already cost her.¹ Leicester meanwhile, although he did his best for his suffering countrymen, was giving abundant proofs of his unfitness for the high post which had been thrust upon him. In his vain attempts to stop the victorious career of Parma, who after the capture of Antwerp made himself master of the principal towns on the Meuse and on the Rhine, he quarrelled with his best officers, he offended the States by his continued displays of arrogance and ostentation, and sought by the severity of his military punishments to throw on his subordinates the responsibility of his military failures.² Individually his volunteers were ever conspicuous for their gallantry; but the reputation they acquired was dearly purchased by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney,

¹ "Until the state of the queen's army by muster-books and her monthly charges may appear more clear, here will be no further means for any more money. At this present there is paid £24,000, and that added to her majesty's former charge of £52,000, maketh £76,000, which sum her majesty doth often repeat *with great offence*."—Burghley to Leicester, 31st March; Correspondence.

² See the account of the execution of Baron Hemart for the surrender of Grave—Motley, United Netherlands, ii. 24.

who had been appointed governor of Flushing. That eminent person fell in a famous cavalry fight at Zutphen,¹ to the universal grief of his countrymen, who justly regarded him as the model of all knightly accomplishments and virtues. Shortly after that event Leicester returned to England, where his presence was required to aid in the deliberations of the Council respecting the final disposal of the Queen of Scots.

No sooner had that unhappy princess been abandoned by her son than her enemies proceeded to increase the rigours of her imprisonment. Sir Ralph Sadler, who had been rebuked for the indulgence he had shown her, was relieved of his charge, and Sir Amias Paulet was appointed in his place. Paulet was a creature of the Earl of Leicester, a Puritan in his religion, and a bear in his manners and conversation. One of his first measures on his arrival at Tutbury was to prohibit his prisoner from giving alms to the poor, a piece of tyranny which at first sight appears inexplicable. But the object of her enemies at this time seems to have been either to shorten her days by confining her in a damp unwholesome prison, or to force her through sheer desperation² to engage in some enterprise or conspiracy which would bring her within the operation of the recent statute. In prohibiting her from distributing her usual charities, Paulet

¹ Motley, ii. 57 ; Froude, xii. 195.

² Mary, after informing Castelnau that, among other innovations, Paulet had prohibited her from giving alms to the poor, continues as follows : " Vous en ferez s'il vous plect, remonstrance de ma part à la dicte Royne, ma bonne sœur, pour la prier de faire commander au sieur Paulet de ne m'user de ceste facon, n'y ayant si pauvre vil et abject criminel et prisonnier à qui ceste permission soit jamais, par aulcune loy desnyée."—Labanoff, vi. 173.

did not act on his own authority. He obeyed the directions of Walsingham,¹ who had now changed his views respecting the Queen of Scots. We have seen that some months before he had recommended his mistress to set her at liberty. But his advice was not followed ; and Walsingham, a thorough politician of the sixteenth century, seems now to have been of opinion that the next best course was to take her life. The worst plan of all was to detain her a prisoner, and thus to enable her partisans to keep the kingdom in a state of perpetual alarm. While his mistress was wavering in her opinions from day to day, and Burghley was covering unnumbered sheets of foolscap in painfully elaborating every argument on every side of every question, Walsingham was ever ready to act ; and it was through the instruments that he employed that Mary was eventually brought to the scaffold.

Amid all her sufferings and dangers, the irrepressible kindness of her nature would display itself. The daughter of one of her Protestant friends in Scotland, Barbara Mowbray, had sought and obtained permission to join her in her English prison ; and her secretary, Curle, having become enamoured of his countrywoman, we find Mary presenting them with the very handsome marriage gift of 2000 crowns,² at a time when, owing to the distracted state of France, her own finances were in anything but a flourishing condition.³ We may add that, unlike her sister queen, who would never allow any one to marry if she could

¹ Walsingham to Paulet, 28th May 1586 ; Record Office.

² Record Office ; October 1585.

³ In a letter to Parsons some months afterwards, she says : " You know how I am used in France, and my dowry during these wars there is to

help it, Mary, notwithstanding her own unhappy experiences, was throughout her life the constant advocate of matrimony. We find her some years before offering to settle a sum of money on a French lady whom George Douglas was anxious to marry;¹ and Mary Seton, the only one of her four Marys who remained unmarried, was induced by her persuasion to accept of Andrew Beton,² the master of her household, and who, but for the intercession of his mistress, would have wooed the fair Seton in vain. There was one match, however, to which Mary seriously objected. Her old pupil, Bess Pierpoint, had captivated her French secretary Nau; but she saw, she said, in that young lady, "so much of her grandmother's nature,"³ notwithstanding all the pains she had taken in her education, that she would now be sorry to see her bestowed upon any man she wished 'good unto.'"⁴

Mary was still at Tutbury when she received intelligence of the return of the banished lords to Scotland, the flight of Arran, and the triumph of the English faction; and grievously though her son had offended her, her maternal interest revived when she learned that he was once more a prisoner. Writing to the French ambassador on the subject, she said: "Notwithstanding his conduct to me—which I attribute more to the evil influence of others than to his own inclination—

diminish more than ever; which notwithstanding, I would no way importune the King of Spain nor the Prince of Parma, liking a great deal better to suffer than beg."—29th May 1586; Labanoff, vi. 336.

¹ Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vii. 119-120.

² *Ibid.* Beton, however, died before the marriage took place, p. 270.

³ The Countess of Shrewsbury.

⁴ Mary to Morgan, 27th July; Record Office.

I must, as his mother, who have ever felt, and to the day of my death ever shall feel, for him the warmest affection, lament from the bottom of my heart his present miserable plight, and would make any effort, even at the hazard of my life, to secure his against the dangers which now threaten it.”¹ This language might surprise us if Mary had not throughout her life shown herself to be the least vindictive of women. But the same spirit which twenty years before had prompted her to forgive the crimes of her brother and her husband, now led her, when she learned that he was in danger, to forget the baseness of her son.

Throughout the summer she had continued to complain of the unwholesome condition of her prison, and Castelnau, who left England in September, had obtained a promise from Elizabeth that she should be removed from Tutbury. But it was not until the end of December that she took final leave of that dismal place. The castle of Chartley, situated in the same county, and then belonging to the Earl of Essex, was, after much unnecessary delay, prepared for her reception; and, accompanied by her keeper and her guards, she arrived at this place on Christmas eve, 1585. There arrived at the same time as a guest of her keeper, Thomas Philipps, the decipherer and spy, who had for some years been employed by Walsingham to intercept her correspondence, and who played a very important part in the tragedy which was soon to follow.

¹ Mary to Chateaufort, 8th December 1585; Labanoff, vi. 238.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BABINGTON CONSPIRACY.

ALTHOUGH abandoned both by France and Scotland, Mary still continued to be an object of interest to Spain. The Council of Castile was not only in the habit of discussing her situation and her prospects, but, without consulting her at all upon the matter, had even about this time undertaken to provide her with a husband. Their choice fell upon the Prince of Parma, who had previously been sounded on the subject,¹ and who, like his renowned uncle Don John, was very willing to entertain the project. Nothing indeed could be more natural than the proposed arrangement. If England was ever to be invaded, Parma was the man to whom the Catholic world looked to lead the expedition; and if it proved successful, no one could have a better claim to the hand of her who, in their eyes, was the rightful sovereign. "We must," said the Council in a memorial to the king, "liberate the Queen of Scotland, and marry her to some one or another, both in order to put her out of love with her son, and to conciliate her devoted adherents. Of course the husband should be one of your majesty's

¹ Parsons to the Queen of Scots, 10th September 1584; Record Office.

nephews, and none could be so appropriate as the Prince of Parma, that great captain, whom his talents and the part he has to bear in the business, especially indicate for that honour.”¹

Of all the kings and conquerors of ancient or of modern times who have dreamed of universal empire, the monarch to whom this counsel was addressed seems to have been the most uninteresting and the most incapable. Although his industry was as great as his ambition, and although he possessed the largest navy, the finest armies, and the best commanders in the world, his obstinacy or his bigotry proved fatal to nearly all his schemes of aggrandisement. Had he possessed the abilities of his father the result might have been very different; but, fortunately for mankind, he proved himself unequal to the task of wielding the enormous resources placed at his disposal. He had thwarted the plans of the Duke of Guise for the relief of the Queen of Scots, because he had made up his mind that some day he should conquer England for himself; and he probably assented to the scheme of marrying Parma to that princess with a mental reservation that even if that very uncertain event ever did take place, it should in no way divert him from his project. Parma, meanwhile, was consulted on the subject of the invasion, and he saw many more obstacles in the way than the Council of Castile. He was far too great a soldier to underrate the magnitude of the enterprise. He knew well the character of the enemy with whom he had to deal; for although by this time he may have formed a true estimate of the vainglorious

¹ Quoted by Motley from the Archives of Simancas.—United Netherlands, i. 378.

Leicester, he had had abundant opportunities in the Netherlands of testing the qualities of English troops. He always spoke, therefore, with becoming modesty of "the enterprise of England." But he was willing to undertake it upon two conditions: the first, that the Spanish fleet should have command of the Channel; and the second, that he should have at his disposal 30,000 picked troops. With these, as the Queen of England had no standing army to oppose them, he believed he should be able to reach London; and the capital once won, he did not anticipate any further serious resistance.¹

Such were the schemes of Parma for the year 1586. Whether or not Mary knew of his matrimonial project does not appear, but that she knew and approved of the plan of the invasion is certain. To the scheme of the Duke of Guise she had given, as we have seen, a conditional, and perhaps a reluctant consent, for she was well aware of the dangers to which an invasion of England would expose her.² But she was now in a very different position from that which she had occupied under the comparatively mild guardianship of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Under her new keeper, whom she knew to be a creature of Leicester, she passed her days in constant dread; and having no prospect before her now but a life of hopeless captivity, to be terminated perhaps at any moment by a violent death, it would have been strange indeed if she had rejected any scheme, however dangerous, which

¹ See letter of Parma to Philip, 20th April 1586; quoted by Motley, *United Netherlands*, i. 529 *et seq.*

² "If any unquietness should happen here, it would be laid to my charge, and so might I be in greater danger."—See Mary's conversation with John Somers; Sadler, ii. 390.

promised to restore her to liberty. We find accordingly, that in reply to a letter which by some means the Prince of Parma contrived to send to her, she gave him to understand that she entirely approved of the plan of the invasion. She did not reply to the prince directly, but in a letter to Parsons¹ she expressed herself as follows: "Give right affectionate thanks in my name to my cousin the Prince of Parma, for the honourable testimony I have had by his letter of the goodwill he beareth me, which accepting, and not now able to requite; but with the like only I pray you to let him understand for answer, that as it hath pleased the King of Spain, my good brother, to make a special choice of him to have from henceforth the whole charge and managing of the enterprise proponed for the re-establishing of this state; so inasmuch as I can for mine own part, I shall always esteem it for me no small happiness to concur in an action so important for the weal and common quieting of all Christendom with a prince so meet in all respects for effecting of the same as I see he is. And therefore, if it pleaseth him that he advise with you all in those parts of the fittest means for execution of that his good intention in the said enterprise, let him be sure that I shall therein correspond for my part with an entire acknowledgment of how much I am beholden unto him therefore,"² &c. No language could be more explicit. It proves conclusively that Mary was ready to risk all on the only chance that now remained for her deliverance.

¹ The companion of Campian. Parsons was at this time in the Netherlands.

² Labanoff, vi. 335; the Queen of Scots to Parsons, 20th May 1586.

The whole of her correspondence at this time was carried on in cipher, and it was regularly intercepted by Walsingham's spies, and deciphered by Philipps. Another important letter which she addressed on the same day to Charles Paget fell into the secretary's hands. In this letter, after alluding to the Spanish project of invasion, she said she would do her utmost to induce her son to join in the enterprise; and if he refused, she would recommend the Catholic nobility to give him up to the King of Spain, "with paction and promise to set him at liberty whensoever I shall so desire, or that after my death, being Catholic, he shall desire again to repair to this isle." She added, "I should think myself most obliged to the King of Spain that it would please him to receive my son, to make him to be instructed and reduced to the Catholic religion, which is the thing of this world I most desire, affecting a great deal rather the salvation of his soul than to see him monarch of all Europe." She further recommended that during the absence of her son, Lord Claud Hamilton should be appointed Regent of Scotland.¹ Mary had evidently, from the tone of her correspondence at this time, arrived at the conviction that her liberty was only to be obtained by force. It is not, therefore, to be denied, nor did she herself deny, that she sanctioned the scheme of invasion planned by Parma and Philip. That which from first to last she did deny, was all complicity, direct or indirect, in the contemporary plot of Anthony Babington to assassinate the Queen of England.

Whether that plot was the spontaneous effort of a

¹ The Queen of Scots to Charles Paget, 20th May 1586; Labanoff, vi. 343.

few rash young men to liberate the Queen of Scots and restore the ancient faith, or whether they were induced to engage in it through the artifices of Walsingham or his agents, is a question which will probably ever remain in doubt. Although we may hesitate to pronounce the secretary guilty of the heavy charge which was certainly made against him at the time by persons well qualified to form a just opinion, an examination of the circumstances which led to the discovery of the conspiracy must convince us that his conduct, to say the least, was open to very strong suspicion. It is well known that he kept in his pay at this time a number of Catholic as well as Protestant spies; and one of the former, named Gilbert Gifford, is alleged to have been the real author of the Babington conspiracy. Gifford was a young man of a good Catholic family in Staffordshire. His father had been imprisoned on account of his religion, and he himself had been sent to France in his boyhood, and educated at the Jesuit seminary at Rheims. At what time and under what circumstances he was first employed by Walsingham is not known; but, from the description left of him by the French ambassador, he must have been a very young man.¹ For several months during the year 1585 we find that he was in Paris. The chief partisans of Mary in that city were her ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow, Charles Paget, and Thomas Morgan, who was still an inmate of the Bastille. They were well aware of the rigorous nature of her imprisonment under her new keeper; and when Gifford suggested to them a plan by which she might

¹ Memoire de Chateauneuf sur la conspiration de Babington; Labanoff, vi. 275.

be enabled to communicate with her friends, they listened readily to his proposals. Like the Master of Gray, Gifford professed himself a devoted adherent of the captive queen; and the religion and the family connections of the young Jesuit disarmed all suspicion on the part of Mary's friends, who naturally regarded him as a valuable ally, and sent him in December 1585 with a strong recommendation to the French ambassador in London. It was the duty of one of the secretaries named Cordailot to attend to the affairs of the Queen of Scots; and on Gifford presenting himself at the embassy, he explained that he had come to England for the purpose of devising some plan by which the Queen of Scots might be enabled to correspond with her friends, a privilege which was now wholly denied to her. He added that as Chartley, where she was then confined, was but a short distance from his father's house, he hoped to find some means of accomplishing this important object. On being introduced to the ambassador, M. de Chateauneuf, who had succeeded Castelnau at the Court of London, Gifford repeated his story with profound expressions of attachment to the cause of his religion and of the Queen of Scots. But he either overacted his part, or Chateauneuf was too wary to trust a stranger, who, at the very first, he suspected might be a spy of Walsingham. A number of letters were at this time lying at the embassy addressed to the Scottish queen, as her keeper had for some time past cut her off from all communication with the outer world; but Chateauneuf declined to trust any of them to the care of Gifford until he was satisfied as to his true character and objects.¹

¹ Memoire de Chateauneuf; Labanoff, vi. 282.

Although baffled for the time, Gifford did not abandon his project. He remained in London during the whole month of January, making frequent visits to the French embassy, where various letters were addressed to him under the name of "Nicolas Cornelius." During this time, through his acquaintance with the English refugees in Paris, he obtained ready access to the houses of the principal Catholics, and to them, as well as to the French ambassador, he continued to express the utmost sympathy for the Queen of Scots. Chateauneuf, still suspicious, at length determined to put his fidelity to the test. He intrusted him with a letter containing some matter of no importance, to be transmitted to the Scottish queen. On receiving it, Gifford set out immediately for Staffordshire, and took up his residence at the house of an uncle, who lived a few miles distant from Chartley. Burton was then, as now, famed for the excellence of its beer, and he ascertained that once a-week a supply was brought to the castle by a certain brewer of that ancient town. With the knowledge and connivance of Sir Amias Paulet, Gifford introduced himself to this man, and proposed that he should become the channel of communication between the Queen of Scots and her pretended friends. The brewer, whose name has not been preserved, received from those who employed him the derisive designation of "the honest man." Being assured that Sir Amias Paulet approved of it, and expecting to be well rewarded for his trouble,¹ "the honest man" readily assented to Gifford's scheme. A small box was constructed and

¹ The "honest man" received various presents from Mary, besides being paid by Paulet.--Paulet to Walsingham, 5th July; Record Office.

made to fit into the bottom, probably a false one, of the barrel of beer, which arrived once a-week at Chartley. The butler who drew off the beer then delivered the box to one of Mary's secretaries, who opened it and handed the letters or papers which it contained to his mistress. In the following week, when the "honest man" returned, the box with the reply of the queen or her secretaries was replaced in the empty barrel, and in due time reached Gifford's hands. As the whole of Mary's correspondence was at this time carried on in cipher, the letters were then sent up to London to be deciphered. Copies were then made, and the ciphered letters were either detained or sent on to the persons to whom they were addressed, as Walsingham might determine. But whether they always left the office of the secretary in the same condition in which they reached it, is a question which it is impossible to answer in the affirmative.

The device of employing the "honest man" as the bearer of her confidential correspondence might well have awakened the suspicions of Mary. But her situation had now become so intolerable that she was evidently prepared to run any risk for the chance of recovering her liberty. She never appears to have seen Gifford; but Paget and Morgan had assured her that he might be trusted: and by means of the "honest man" she sent him a letter to be delivered to the French ambassador, in which she expressed her entire confidence in the bearer, who, she added, would explain the ingenious method he had devised for enabling her to correspond with her friends.¹

Satisfied at length of the fidelity of Gifford,

¹ Mémoire; Labanoff, vi. 286.

Chateauneuf now intrusted him with a number of letters addressed to her, many of which had reached the embassy before Castelnau left England. Gifford, when he was in London, it was afterwards ascertained, lodged with Thomas Philipps, the decipherer. The services of yet another person were required to enable Walsingham to unfold the secrets of Mary's correspondence, and there was attached to his office one Arthur Gregory,¹ whose sole duty it was to open and counterfeit seals, an art in which he especially excelled. The web of treachery which had been woven round the captive queen was now complete. Gifford having gained the confidence of the French ambassador and corrupted the "honest man," had access to the whole of her correspondence. The letters were afterwards opened by Gregory and deciphered by Philipps. They were then, if it was determined to forward them to their destination, so carefully resealed by Gregory that the most practised eye was unable to detect the fraud. It is obvious that, as soon as this artful scheme was organised, Mary's life was in the hands of Walsingham, or, to speak more accurately, of the decipherer, Philipps. If she failed in her correspondence to criminate herself, nothing was easier than to interpolate a ciphered letter by introducing matter sufficient to bring her within the penalties of the recent statute. It will be found in the sequel that this device was eventually adopted.

Walsingham, in the mean time, was disappointed. There was nothing in the letters which Gifford brought from the French embassy which in any way implicated

¹ Arthur Gregory "sealed them up again in such sort that no man could judge they had been opened."—Camden, 305.

the Queen of Scots, for not one of them was produced against her; and with the view of strengthening her confidence in the "honest man," they probably all reached Chartley through his hands.

Gifford had arranged that during his absence from Staffordshire a Catholic friend of his, named Thomas Barnes, who was no doubt kept in ignorance of the fraud, should, on the occasion of the weekly visits of the "honest man," receive any packets sent off from Chartley. He was then to forward them as speedily as possible to the house of another friend who lived in Warwickshire, on the road to London, and the latter sent them on to the French embassy in the care of a messenger who always wore some kind of disguise.¹ After waiting twenty-four hours in London, he returned with whatever letters there might be for the Scottish queen, but which had all previously passed through the hands of Gifford, Gregory, Philipps, and Walsingham.

Having thus successfully accomplished his traitorous purpose, Gifford repaired to France to apprise Mary's friends that he had established a sure means by which they could now regularly correspond with her. Various

¹ Gifford explained to Chateaufort his plan of operations as follows: "Qu'entre Londres et Chartley, il y avait deux maisons de gentilshommes catholiques, ses amis; que le plus proche de Chartley enverrait toutes les semaines quérir les lettres chez le faiseur de bière puis les enverrait chez l'autre gentilhomme plus proche de Londres, lequel les enverrait à Londres," &c. The letters were then delivered at the French embassy to be sent on to their destination.—Labanoff, vi. 285. It would appear from this statement that the person last mentioned—namely, the friend who lived nearest to London—must have been in the plot, as it would be necessary for him to send whatever letters or packets he received in the first instance to Walsingham's office to be deciphered before they were delivered at the French embassy. Gifford assured Chateaufort that neither of his two friends was in the secret; but this we cannot believe, as in that case Mary's letters would have found their way straight to the French embassy without being examined by Walsingham.

consultations were held, and various opinions were expressed respecting the means of liberating the royal captive; but it was finally suggested by the young Jesuit that it would be dangerous to attempt to rescue her by force, as in case of any alarm Paulet would instantly cause her to be put to death. On the other hand, if Elizabeth were in the first instance made away with,¹ the Queen of Scots would be at once acknowledged by the leading nobility, and no opposition was to be apprehended from the people to the undoubted heiress of the crown. It appears that Mendoza, who was now Philip's ambassador in Paris, and who, on account of his expulsion from England, entertained the deadliest hostility against Elizabeth, warmly approved of the assassination scheme, and promised to aid in its execution to the utmost of his power.²

Gifford now returned to London, where, among his Catholic acquaintances, he met a young man named Anthony Babington who seemed to be an instrument in every way fitted for his designs. Babington possessed a good estate in Derbyshire, and in his youth, according to the fashion of the age, had spent some time as a page in the service of the Earl of Shrewsbury. In that capacity he had often seen, admired, and pitied the Queen of Scots. Wholly inexperienced in political intrigue,³ and endowed with

¹ "Voilà les desseins du dit Gifford projetés à Paris par gens mal pratiqués du monde, et qui se laissèrent aller aux propositions du dit Gifford," &c.—Labanoff, vi. 287.

² "A cette occasion, le dit Mendoza n'oublia rien de belles promesses, tant au dit Gifford et à ceux qui étaient à Paris, qu'aux autres qui étaient en Angleterre pour les inciter, aux promesses d'une armée de mer et de tous les moyens de son maître."—Ibid.

³ "Il était fort jeune sans barbe et assez simple."—Chauteauneuf in Labanoff, vi. 298.

an abundant share of youthful vanity, he soon became as wax in the practised hands of Gifford. But although willing to risk his life in the service of the captive queen, Babington, it is said, at first recoiled from the project of assassinating her rival. He entertained such strong religious scruples on the subject, that in order to remove them, Gifford set out once more for France, and returned to London accompanied by an English priest named Ballard. This man had originally been a spy of Walsingham, but having become disgusted with his occupation, was eager to repair the wrongs he had done to his fellow-Catholics by rendering them some signal service. Another person arrived in London shortly afterwards who volunteered to kill Elizabeth with his own hand. This was a soldier of fortune, named John Savage, who had served in the Netherlands under the Prince of Parma, and who, as it afterwards appeared, had been first instigated by an uncle of Gifford to undertake the murder.¹ The arguments of Ballard, and the fierce fanaticism of Savage, who had long been inured to scenes of blood in the desperate warfare of the Netherlands, at length overcame the scruples of Babington. He even began to envy Savage the glory he would acquire by ridding the world of the heretic queen. He maintained that the enterprise was too hazardous and too important to be undertaken by any one man, and he proposed instead that the number of assassins should be increased to six. Babington had many friends in London, young men of his own age and station, to whom, with the consent of Gifford and Ballard, he now disclosed the plan of the conspiracy. Among

¹ State Trials, i. 1129.

these he selected five who agreed to join him in the plot. These were Chidiok Titchbourne, the representative of an ancient family in Hampshire; Charles Tilney, one of the band of gentlemen pensioners of the queen; Edward Abington, whose father had held an appointment in the queen's household; John Charnock of Lancashire; and an Irishman named Barnwell, who is said by Camden to have been a cadet of a noble house.¹ Various other friends of Babington agreed to join in the plan for the rescue of the Queen of Scots, which was to be effected immediately after the death of Elizabeth. Among them were Edward Windsor, a brother of Lord Windsor, Thomas Salisbury of Denbighshire, Robert Gage of Surrey, John Travers of Lancashire, and a man named Pooley, who had acquired the entire confidence of Babington, and followed him about wherever he went. He was one of the numerous spies of Walsingham, and had most probably been introduced by Gifford to keep a watch on the conspirators while he himself was absent from London. Another of Walsingham's creatures, named Maude, had for some time past been the constant companion of Ballard, who, disguised as a soldier of fortune, had visited various parts of England and Scotland, with the view of ascertaining the condition and the prospects of the Catholic population.

Babington and his friends were now fairly in the toils of Walsingham. Wholly unconscious of their danger, they meanwhile daily met and discussed their plans. That they might converse more freely, they usually repaired, as if for recreation, to St Giles's in the Fields; and we may conclude that on

¹ Camden, 303.

each occasion one at least of Walsingham's three spies took care to be present: and we may perhaps attribute to their insidious advice a piece of egregious folly on the part of Babington, who was so elated with his scheme of killing the queen that he had a painting executed containing portraits of the six conspirators, with himself in the most prominent position as their chief.¹

Against them Walsingham was now in possession of ample evidence, but he aimed from the first at higher game. The Queen of Scots was as yet in no way implicated in the plot; and in spite of the ingenuity of Gifford, nothing had been discovered in her correspondence which would subject her to the penalties of the recent statute. It is obvious that her friends had the strongest motives for keeping her in ignorance of Babington's plot. Upon this point Mr Froude justly remarks: "If there was a person from whom the conspiracy ought most carefully to have been concealed, that person was Mary Stewart. She could herself do nothing; and to acquaint her beforehand with so dark a purpose was to expose her to gratuitous danger, and was to ask her for a direct sanction which she could not honourably give."² We find, accordingly, that Morgan, who, whatever may have been his misleads, was a faithful friend to her, informed her that Dr Gifford, who had first proposed to Savage to kill the queen, and who was at this time in England, was "occupied in such matters as be not to be neglected. The par-

¹ Camden, 304. He adds that beneath the picture was the following line—

"Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt."

² Vol. xii. 231.

ticularities I would recount unto your majesty, *but I hold it best for some causes that you do not know the same.*"¹ Morgan further cautioned Mary against corresponding with Ballard, who, he said, was engaged in "some matters of consequence, the issue whereof is uncertain. Wherefore, as long as these labours of his and matters be in hand, it is not for your majesty's service to hold any intelligence with him at all, for fear lest he or his partners be discovered, and they by pains or other accidents *discover your majesty afterwards to have had intelligence with them*, which I would not should fall out for any good in the world; and I have specially warned the said Ballard not to deal at any hand with your majesty, *so long as he followeth the affairs that he and others have in hand*, which tend to do good, which I pray God may come to pass, and so shall your majesty be relieved by the power of God."²

There can be no doubt that in these two letters Morgan referred to the Babington plot, with the nature of which, for obvious reasons, he wished to keep his mistress unacquainted. But it is a startling fact that while he was giving her this salutary advice, we find him in another letter recommending her to open up a correspondence with the chief of the conspiracy—namely, with Babington himself. If all three letters are genuine, it is impossible to explain the inconsistency. But bearing in mind that they all passed through the hands of Gifford and Philipps before they reached Mary, and bearing in mind that Walsingham was at this time in want of evidence to connect her with the plot, we cannot but strongly suspect that the

¹ Morgan to the Queen of Scots, 24th April 1586; Murdin, 512.

² Murdin, 527; letter of 4th July.

fatal advice which now reached her came not from a friend but from an enemy.

"I am of opinion," says Morgan, in this most suspicious letter, "that it shall not be amiss that your majesty write three or four lines of your own hand to the said Babington, declaring your good conceit of him, and the confidence you repose in him, and thank him for his good affection towards your majesty,"¹ &c. Another singular circumstance connected with this letter is the fact that Morgan, who was still a prisoner in the Bastille, even took upon himself to draw up a short note which Mary might copy out and send to Babington. When we consider that Mary was one of the most accomplished letter-writers that ever lived, we cannot but feel surprise that Morgan, or any one else, should have ventured on such a liberty. But whether the letter came from Morgan or from Philipps, it produced the result desired by her enemies. It drew from her a short letter to Babington, and expressed in the very words dictated by Morgan.² It is important to observe that this was the first piece of evidence produced against her. Although by means of his spies Walsingham had perused every scrap of correspondence which passed to and from the Scottish queen for upwards of four months, he had found nothing which he thought fit to produce. This is a circumstance which weighs immensely in her favour, while it must have grievously disappointed her enemies, whose ingenuity had hitherto been exercised in vain. The

¹ Murdin, 513; letter of 9th May.

² "Et la première que la dite Royne d'Ecosse luy escrivit fust suyvante une minutte en voyée de mot à mot toute faicte par Morgan."
—Declaration of Nau; Labanoff, vii. 208.

strong motive which they had at this time for involving her in the guilt of the Babington plot is therefore abundantly apparent.

The letter of Mary to Babington, copied from the alleged draft of Morgan, was as follows:—

“My very good friend,—Albeit it be long since you heard from me, not more than I have done from you, it is against my will; yet would I not you should think I have in the meanwhile, nor ever will be, unmindful of the effectual affection you have showed heretofore towards all that concerneth me. I have understood that, upon the renewing of your intelligence, there were addressed unto you, both from France and Scotland, some packets for me; I pray you, if any be come to your hands, and be yet in place, to deliver them to the bearer thereof, who will safely convey them unto me; and I will pray to God for your preservation. Your assured good friend.”—Chartley, June 25th.¹

The request that any packets in his possession should be given to the bearer is highly suggestive of fraud, and strengthens our suspicion that this letter was not a genuine composition. It reached Babington in London by the hand of an “unknown boy.” But before it was delivered a correspondence of a very mysterious kind had taken place between Paulet, Walsingham, and Philipps. On the 27th of June, a packet from Philipps arrived at Chartley, to be delivered through the “honest man” to the Queen of Scots; but its contents were such that Paulet declined to send it. He wrote both to Walsingham and Philipps that he could not venture to put their scheme in execution, as he considered it to be highly dangerous, and that it

¹ State Trials, i. 1174; and Labanoff, vi. 345.

might lead to the discovery and defeat of their plan of operations.

As to the contents of the packet which Paulet refused to deliver to the Queen of Scots, we are wholly in the dark ; but it is impossible to resist the conclusion that some foul play was meditated by Philipps. Paulet says that his plan would be attended with "imminent danger." But if the letters or papers which the packet contained were genuine, there could have been no danger in transmitting them to the Scottish queen through the ordinary channel, which both parties now regarded as secure.

In acknowledging the receipt of the packet to Walsingham, Paulet expressed himself as follows : "Mr Philipps hath set down a course for many things to be done which *surely I dare not put in execution for fear of the worst* ; wherein I am also the more fearful because it seemeth there is hope that the 3d of this present great matter will come from this people, which might be in danger to be stayed if any cause of suspicion were ministered to any of the agents in this intercourse." He adds : "All is now well, thanks be to God ; and I should think myself very unhappy if, upon any instructions to proceed from me, this intercourse, so well advanced, should be overthrown. I have therefore resolved to open the returned packet, and to deliver only to the honest man the letter for the second messenger therein contained."¹

Paulet at the same time wrote to Philipps himself, saying that he "dare not proceed to the execution" of his directions, that he had therefore returned his packet, and that he had explained his reasons for so

¹ See Appendix E.

doing more fully to Secretary Walsingham. It was apparently in consequence of the difficulties thus raised by Paulet that Philipps was sent down to Chartley shortly afterwards to take into his own hands the management of the affair.

On what day Mary's letter reached Babington we are not informed; nor do we know the date of his alleged reply. She is said to have received it on the 12th of July, and it was to the following effect. We have marked some passages in italics which especially deserve attention.

“Most mighty, most excellent, my dread sovereign, lady and queen, unto whom I owe all fidelity and obedience; may it please your gracious majesty to admit excuse of my long silence and discontinuance from those dutiful offices, intercepted upon the remove of your royal person from the ancient place of your abode to the custody of a wicked Puritan and mere Leicestrian—a mortal enemy, both by faith and faction, to your majesty and to the Catholic estate. I held the hope of our country's weal depending (next under God) upon the life of your majesty to be desperate, and thereupon resolved to depart the realm, determining to spend the remnant of my life in such solitary sort as the miserable and wretched estate of my country doth require; only expecting, according to the just judgment of God, the present confusion thereof, which God, for His mercy's sake, prevent. The which my purpose being in execution, and standing upon my departure, there was addressed unto me, from the parts beyond the seas, one Ballard, a man of virtue and learning, and of singular zeal to the Catholic cause and your majesty's service. The man informed me of

great preparations by the Christian princes, your majesty's allies, for the deliverance of our country from the extreme and miserable estate wherein for a long time it hath remained ; which, when I understood, my especial desire was to advise by what means I might, with the regard of my life, and all my friends in general, do your sacred majesty one day's good service. Whereupon, most dread sovereign, according to the great care which those princes have of the preservation and safe deliverance of your majesty's sacred person, I advised of means and considered of circumstances accordingly, to and with so many of the wisest and most trusty, as with safety I might commend the secrecy thereof unto. I do find, by the assistance of the Lord Jesus, assurance of good effect, and desired fruit of our travail. These things are first to be advised in this great and honourable action, upon issue of which dependeth not only the life of your most excellent majesty, which God long preserve to our inestimable comfort and to the salvation of English souls, and the lives of all us actors therein, but also the honour and weal of our country, far more dear than our lives unto us, and the last hope to recover the faith of our forefathers, and to redeem ourselves from the servitude and bondage which hereby heretofore hath been imposed upon us with the loss of many thousand souls. First, for the assuring of invasions, sufficient strength on the invaders' parts to arrive is appointed, with a strong party at every place to join with them and warrant their landing, the deliverance of your majesty, *the despatch of the usurping competitor*.¹ For the effecting of all, may it please

¹ We should have expected to find in a genuine letter "*and the de-*

your majesty to rely upon my service. I protest before the Almighty, who hath long miraculously preserved your royal person, no doubt to some universal good, that what I have said shall be performed, or all our lives happily lost in the execution thereof. Which vow all the chief actors have taken solemnly, and are upon assurance by your majesty to me to receive the blessed sacrament thereupon, either to prevail in the Church's behalf and your majesty's, or fortunately to die for so honourable a cause."¹

We must here call the attention of the reader to the passage we have marked in italics. It is admitted that the conspirators had the strongest motives for concealing from Mary the plot against Elizabeth's life, yet she is here not only informed of it, but it is referred to in the very plainest terms, without preface or explanation of any kind. Mary heard for the first time in this letter of the intended plot, yet Babington speaks of "the despatch of the usurping competitor" as if it had been a matter with which she was already well acquainted. Even in this sanguinary age we find no other instance in which an intended murder is spoken of in such undisguised and unambiguous terms. If the passage is genuine, it is impossible to explain why it was inserted. If it is spurious, the motive of the interpolator is clear. It was simply to impart to Mary a knowledge of the murderous plot, and to draw from her in reply some expression of assent or approval which would subject her to the penalties of the recent statute.

spatch." There are three copies of this letter in the Record Office, two English and one French, and in all three the "and" is omitted.—See Record Office, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xviii.

¹ State Trials, i. 1175.

We proceed with the remainder of Babington's letter :—

“ Now forasmuch as delays are extreme dangerous, it might please your most excellent majesty by your wisdom to direct us, and by your princely authority to enable us, and such as may advance the affairs ; foreseeing there is not any of the nobility at liberty assured to your majesty in this desperate service, except unknown to us ; and seeing that it is very necessary that some there should be to become heads to lead the multitude who are disposed by nature in this land to follow nobility ; considering withal, it doth not only make the commons and country to follow without contradiction or contention, which is ever found in equality, but also doth add great courage to the leaders. For which necessary regards I would recommend some to your majesty as are fittest, in my knowledge, to be your lieutenants in the west parts, in the north parts, South Wales and North Wales, the countries of Lancaster, Derby, and Stafford. In all which countries parties being already made, and fidelity taken in your majesty's name, I hold them as most assured and of undoubted fidelity. Myself, with ten gentlemen of quality, and an hundred followers, will undertake the delivery of your person from the hands of your enemies ; and *for the despatch of the usurper, from obedience of whom, by the excommunication of her, we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear the Catholic cause and your majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution.* It resteth that according to their infinite deserts, and your majesty's bounty, their heroical attempts may be honourably rewarded in

them, if they escape with life, or in their posterity; and that so much by your majesty's authority I may be able to assure them. Now it remaineth only in your majesty's wisdom that it be reduced into method, *that your happy deliverance be first, for that thereupon dependeth the only good*, and that the other circumstances concur—that the untimely end of the one do not overthrow the rest. All which your majesty's wonderful experience and wisdom will dispose in so good manner as I doubt not, through God's good assistance, shall take deserved effect; for the obtaining of which every one of us shall think his life most happily spent. Upon the 12th day of this month I will be at Litchfield, expecting your majesty's answers and letters, to execute what by them shall be commanded. Your majesty's faithful subject and sworn servant,

ANTHONY BABINGTON."

In this portion of the letter Mary is informed that there is a matter more important still than the murder of her rival, and that is her own deliverance from captivity, "for that thereupon dependeth the only good." Babington himself, with ten gentlemen of quality and a hundred followers, was to undertake this perilous duty; while "six noble gentlemen"—all his private friends—were to despatch Elizabeth. But how could this be? Was not Babington himself one of the six? Was he not their acknowledged chief? How could he be employed at the same time in London and at Chartley—130 miles distant? These inconsistencies and contradictions, as the letter now stands, it is impossible to explain; but if we strike out the two passages relating to the murder of Elizabeth, it be-

comes at once intelligible and consistent. It would still contain treasonable matter enough as regarded Babington; for the projected invasion, the rising of the Catholics, and the plan for the deliverance of the captive queen, are all discussed in language abundantly explicit. But as regarded her, additional evidence was required.

If we had any sufficient proof that the letter was genuine, these remarks would be impertinent. But it is admitted that the alleged copy which was produced, and is now preserved, came from the office of Walsingham—the original having been intercepted by Gifford, opened by Gregory, and deciphered by Philipps. Who can assert that it left their hands in the same condition in which it reached them? Gifford, we know, was well acquainted with the plot against Elizabeth; indeed we can hardly doubt that it was he who first suggested it. Philipps¹ was equally aware of the conspiracy; and nothing would be easier than to insert in the letter sent to Mary some reference to the fact. The two passages printed in italics are the only ones in which allusion is made to the intended murder of the English queen; and it is to be observed that they are introduced in the most abrupt and startling manner, and have no connection with the remaining portions of the letter.

It is upon this suspicious document, and the answer which Mary is alleged to have returned to it, that the charge against her of having conspired against the life of Elizabeth entirely rests. It is necessary, therefore, to follow step by step the measures now taken by Wal-

¹ Philipps, it appears, was an adept in forgery as well as in the art of deciphering.—See Tytler, vol. viii., Appendix xiv., where conclusive proof of this fact may be found.

ingham to connect her with the plot. We have seen that in Babington's letter he says he would be at Litchfield on the 12th of July, and would there await her answer. Upon that everything now depended; and in order that no time might be lost in obtaining it, Walsingham directed Philipps to proceed at once to Chartley, that, as soon as Mary's reply reached him through the hands of the "honest man," it might be opened and deciphered on the spot.

Philipps left London on the 7th, and arrived at Chartley on the 9th of July. On the same day Walsingham wrote a confidential letter to the Earl of Leicester, in which he alluded in very mysterious terms to something of importance that was about to happen, which he could not commit to writing, but which would be communicated to him by the bearer of the letter. "I have acquainted this gentleman," he says, "with the secret, to the end he may impart the same unto your lordship. I dare make none of my servants here privy thereunto. My only fear is that her majesty will not use the matter with that secrecy that appertaineth, though it imports it as greatly as ever anything did since she came to this crown; and surely, if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her majesty's reign. *I pray your lordship make this letter an heretic after you have read the same.* I mean, when the matter is grown to a full ripeness, to send some confidential person unto you to acquaint you fully with the matter. And so in the mean time I most humbly take my leave."¹

¹ Leicester Correspondence, 342. "Walsingham," says Mr Bruce in his Introduction, p. 37, "wished his correspondent to make a 'heretic' of that letter as soon as he had read it; but the earl contented himself

There can be no doubt that Walsingham here alluded to the Babington plot; and the confident tone in which he boasts that if "the matter be well handled" it would break the neck of all dangerous practices during Elizabeth's reign, is highly significant. The suspicion naturally arises, if he expected this conspiracy to be productive of such extraordinary advantages, that he was himself a party to it. It must be remembered that, when he so expressed himself, he was still without any evidence against the Queen of Scots; yet he had no doubt that he would obtain it: and when the matter was "grown to a full ripeness," he would let Leicester know more. Walsingham knew that Philipps had carried with him at this time to Chartley Babington's letter to Mary; and upon her reply—provided "it were well handled"—everything would now depend.

Two days after the date of this letter, Walsingham received a communication from Gilbert Gifford, to which it is necessary to call the attention of the reader.

Gifford, who was at the time in London, informed the secretary that he had just had an interview with Ballard, in whose opinion it was absolutely necessary, before proceeding with the conspiracy, to obtain the sanction of the Queen of Scots in her own handwriting. "I asked him," said Gifford in his letter to Walsingham, "what was to be done on our parts; he (Ballard) replied that I must needs obtain of ^{the} her hand and seal to allow of all that should be practised for her behalf, without the which, said he, we labour

with running his pen through the more important sentences. I fear they bear a construction not over favourable to the English Government, but I must content myself with merely directing attention to them."

¹ The Queen of Scots.—See the letter of Gifford, Appendix F.

in vain, and these men will not hear us. I answered that it was a matter of great importance, and that we should expect Morgan and Paget to do it; he said the matter would grow long, and that he was in great danger."

After some further conversation, Gifford continued, "Well, said I, let us think of it, and to-morrow I will answer you; so he parted out of town, and left his man with me for answer, which he is marvellous earnest in. *What your honour thinketh good, I shall answer him.* I desire to be informed, and how far I shall join with him and keep him company," &c.

Whether any such conversation took place between Ballard and Gifford, such as the latter here describes, may be well doubted. Ballard was a veteran conspirator, and it is highly improbable that he should have suggested the dangerous expedient of obtaining the written sanction of the Queen of Scots to the assassination plot. But it is by no means improbable that Gifford, well knowing the precise kind of evidence which Walsingham at this time was anxious to obtain against her, may have himself invented the story of his interview with Ballard.

One thing in any case is clear, whether the suggestion came from Ballard or from Gifford himself—it is to Walsingham he applies for instructions and advice. He awaits his orders as to whether or not an attempt shall be made to obtain from the Queen of Scots her written sanction to the murder of her cousin. Why should he look to Walsingham for directions upon such a point? How could he help them to obtain the handwriting they so much desired? The only possible answer to these questions is that Walsingham was an accomplice with his subordinates Gifford and Philipps

in bringing Mary to the block; that they did not move a step without first consulting him; and that he was, therefore, perfectly cognisant of the fraudulent practices to which they resorted to effect their purpose.

What answer Walsingham returned to Gifford we do not know; but it is a circumstance of extreme significance that, within five days of the date of Gifford's letter, Mary's enemies asserted that they had in their possession written evidence of her assent to the plot.

On the 12th of July, Babington's letter reached Mary through the ordinary channel. On the following day her secretary Nau wrote a short note to Babington acknowledging the receipt of his letter, and informing him that an answer would be returned to it in three days. Nau's note was intercepted, read, and sent on to its destination; and, in acquainting Walsingham with its contents, Philipps, still more confident than his chief in the success of their plot, exclaimed, "*We attend her very heart at the next.*"¹

Meanwhile the arrival of Philipps at Chartley, and the attention which he received from her keeper, had attracted Mary's notice. She was now stronger, and better able, in the fine summer weather, to take outdoor exercise than she had been for some time past; and in one of her rides she met the stranger who had awakened her curiosity, and whose appearance she thus described in a letter to Morgan: "He was," she said, "of low stature, with dark yellow hair, and beard of lighter colour, with a downcast look, marked with the smallpocks, and about thirty years of age."²

¹ Philipps to Walsingham; Record Office, 14th July.

² The portrait, which Philipps deciphered himself from Mary's accepted letter, is not attractive.

Philipps, too, described his meeting with the Scottish queen. He met her, he said, "with a smiling countenance;"¹ but he had failed to lull the suspicions of his victim, who, from her description of the man, evidently regarded him with instinctive antipathy. It must have been an anxious time for Walsingham, who had taken upon himself the sole responsibility of following out the Babington conspiracy in all its ramifications. But by means of his spies, Gifford, Maude, and Pooley, he was kept informed of everything that the conspirators in London said and did; and he only awaited the return of Philipps from Chartley, with some definite evidence against the Queen of Scots, to lay the whole matter before the Council. Nor was he disappointed, for Philipps made his appearance with the much-desired proof even sooner than was expected.

Unfortunately for Mary, Babington's fatal letter reached her at a time when she was overwhelmed with grief at the final desertion of her son.² The treaty recently concluded between him and Elizabeth left Mary no hope of liberty but in the success of a Spanish invasion, aided by a general rising of the Catholics throughout the kingdom. If the remedy seemed desperate, it must be remembered that her situation had become intolerable; and to risk her life in an attempt to regain her liberty was not more hazardous than to remain a hopeless prisoner, in

¹ Philipps to Walsingham, 14th July; Record Office.

² "Ceste maudite lettre vint à la malheure sur le très grief ressentiment que la dite Roynie d'Escosse avoit de se voir séparée du roy son fils, négligée en la ligue faite à part avecques luy et privée, comme elle estoit informée de son droit prétendu à la succession de la dite Roynie d'Angleterre," &c.—Mémoire de Nau of 10th September 1586; Labanoff, vii. 208.

constant dread of assassination. Actuated by these feelings, she on the 17th of July addressed a long letter to Babington, in reply to the one she had received from him. If the copy of Mary's letter produced at Fotheringay was genuine, she approved not only of the plan of invasion and of the rising of the Catholics, but of the murder of Elizabeth. But there are very strong reasons for believing that it was tampered with after it left her hands, and that the passages marked in italics were not composed by her.

MARY'S ALLEGED ANSWER TO BABINGTON.

"Trusty and well-beloved,—According to the zeal and entire affection which I have known in you towards the common cause of religion, and since having always made account of you as a principal and right worthy member to be employed both in the one and in the other, it hath been no less consolation unto me to know your estate, as I have done by your last letter, and to have further means to renew my intelligence with you than I have felt griefs all this while past to be without the same. I pray you, therefore, to write unto me hereafter so often as you can of all concurrents which you may judge in any sort importunate to the good of mine affairs, wherein I shall not fail to correspond with all the care and diligence that shall be by possibility. For divers great and importunate considerations, which were here too long to be deducted, I cannot but greatly praise and commend your common desire to prevent in time the designment of our enemies for the extirpation of our religion out of this realm, with the ruin of us all; for I have long ago showed to the foreign Catholic princes what they have done against

the King of Spain, and in the time the Catholics here remaining exposed to all persecutions and cruelty, do daily diminish in number, forces, means, and power, so as if remedy be not thereunto speedily provided, I fear not a little but that they shall become altogether unable for ever to rise again to receive any aid at all whensoever it is offered. Then for my own part I pray you assure our principal friends that albeit I had no particular interest in this case, that all that I may pretend unto, being of no consideration to me in respect of the public good of the State, I shall be always ready, and most willing to employ therein my life and all that I have, or may look for in this world. Now to ground substantially this enterprise, and to bring it to good success, you must examine duly (1) what forces, as well on foot as on horse, you may raise among you all, and what captain you shall appoint for them in every shire, in case a general cannot be had; (2) which towns, ports, and havens you may assure yourselves, as well on the north, west, and south to receive succour as well from the Low Countries, Spain, and France, as from other parts; (3) what place you esteem fittest and of most advantage to assemble the principal company of your forces at the same time, which would be compassed conform to the proportion of your own; (4) for how long pay and munition, and what ports are fittest for their landing in this realm from the foresaid three foreign countries; (5) what provision of monies and armour, in case you should want, you would ask; (6) *by what means do the six gentlemen deliberate to proceed*; (7) the manner of my getting forth of this hold,—which points having taken amongst you who are the principal actors, and

also as few in number as you can, the best resolution in my desire is that you impart the same with all diligence to Bernardino de Mendoza, ambassador for the King of Spain in France, who, besides the experience he hath of the estate on this side, I may assure you will employ himself most willingly. I shall not fail to write to him of the matter with all the recommendations I can, as also I shall do in any wise that shall be needful. But you must take choice men for the managing of the affairs with the said Mendoza and others out of the realm, of some faithful and very secret, both in wisdom and personage, unto whom only you must commit yourselves, to the end things may be kept the more secret, which for your own security I commend to yourself. If your messenger bring you back again sure promise and sufficient assurance of the succours which you demand, then thereafter (but not sooner, for that it were in vain) take diligent order that all those on your part make, secretly as they can, provision of armour, fit horses, and ready money, wherewith to hold themselves in a readiness to march so soon as it shall be signified unto you by the chief and principal of every shire; and for the better colouring of the matter, reserving to the principals the knowledge of the ground of the enterprise. It shall be enough at the beginning to give it out to the rest that the said provisions are made only for the fortifying of yourselves in case of need against the Puritans of this realm, the principal whereof having the chief forces thereof in the Low Countries, as you may let the bruit go disguised, do seek the ruin and overthrow at their return home of the Catholics, and to usurp the crown not only against me and all other lawful pretenders

thereto, but against their own queen that now is, if she will not altogether submit herself to their government. These pretexts may serve to found and establish among all associations, or confederations general, as done only for your preservation and defence, as well in religion as lands, lives, and goods, against the oppression and attempts of the said Puritans, without directly writing or giving out anything against the queen, but rather showing yourselves willing to maintain her and her lawful heirs after her, not naming me. The affairs being thus prepared, and forces in readiness both within and without the realm, then *shall it be time to set the gentlemen on work, taking good order upon the accomplishment of their design.*¹ I may be suddenly transported out of this place, and meet without tarrying for the arrival of the foreign aid, which then must be hastened with all diligence, *now for that there can be no certain day appointed for the accomplishment of the said gentlemen's designment, to the end others may be in readiness to take me from hence. I would that the said gentlemen had always about them, or at least at Court, divers and sundry scoutmen, furnished with good and speedy horses, as soon as the design shall be executed, to come with all diligence to advertise me thereof, and those that shall be appointed for my transporting; to the end that immediately after they may be at the place of my abode before my keeper can have advertise-*

¹ In the State Trials, "their discharges," i. 1179. The whole passage has been most carelessly translated. In the French the meaning is clear: "Il faudra alors mettre les six gentilshommes en besogne et donner ordre que leur dessein estant effectué, je puisse quant et quant, estre tirée hors d'icy," &c.—Labanoff, vi. 389. I assume that the words in italics have been interpolated.

*ment of the execution of the said designment, or at the least, before he can fortify himself within the house, or carry me out of the same. It were necessary to dispatch two or three of the said advertisers by divers ways, to the end if one be staid the other may come through; at the same instant it were needful to assay to cut off the posts ordinary ways."*¹

It is to be observed that on her arraignment at Fotheringay, Mary admitted—at least she did not deny—that in order to regain her liberty she had approved of the projected invasion; but she most emphatically denied that she was in any way implicated in the plot against Elizabeth's life. But if the passages in italics were written by her, or by her authority, she was clearly a party to the plot; for she gives express instructions that the death of Elizabeth was to be the first act of the conspirators, and that they should then announce the fact as speedily as possible to her. Let us see how these instructions agree with what follows. The letter proceeds thus:—

"This is the plot that I think best for this enterprise, and the order whereby we shall conduct the same for our common security; for stirring on this side before you be sure of sufficient foreign forces, that were for nothing but to put ourselves in danger of following the miserable fortune of such as have heretofore travailed in the like actions;² and if you take me out of this place, be well assured to set me in the midst of a good army, or some very good strength, where I may safely stay till the assembly of your forces and

¹ In the French, "*d'empescher les passages ordinaires aux postes et courriers.*"—Labanoff, vi. 390.

² Allusion is here made to the northern rebellion of 1569, and the conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk.

arrival of the said foreign succours. IT WERE SUFFICIENT CAUSE GIVEN TO THE QUEEN, IN CATCHING ME AGAIN, TO ENCLOSE ME IN SOME HOLD, OUT OF THE WHICH I SHOULD NEVER ESCAPE, if she did use me no worse, and to pursue with all extremity those that assisted me, which would grieve me more than all the unhappiness might fall upon myself."

How are we to reconcile this extraordinary passage with that which immediately precedes it? Mary first directs that her rival is to be killed. She is then to be apprised of the fact as speedily as possible, and placed in the midst of a powerful army; and why? Lest her dead rival should catch her again, and treat her worse than ever. We here distinctly trace the forger's hand. He had evidently forgotten, that according to the plan he had sketched out Elizabeth was already dead. That Mary could have written such arrant nonsense it is impossible to believe. But if we strike out the murderous passages in the letter, her expressions of alarm lest she should a second time fall into the hands of her rival would be perfectly natural, and consistent with the plan of the invasion which she had certainly at this time sanctioned, and to all the dangers attending which she was fully alive.

Mary's letter proceeds:—

"Earnestly as you can, look and take heed most carefully and vigilantly to compass and assure all so well that shall be necessary for the effecting of the said enterprise, as with the grace of God you may bring the same to happy end, remitting to the judgment of your principal friends on this side, with whom you have to deal, therein to ordain and conclude upon these points which may serve you for an overture of

such propositions as you shall amongst you find best ; and to yourself in particular I refer the gentlemen aforementioned to be assured of all that should be requisite for the entire execution of their goodwills. I leave their common resolution to advice ; in case the design do not take hold, as may happen whether they will or no, do not pursue my transport, and the execution of the rest of the enterprize. But if the mishap should fall out that you might not come by me, being set in the Tower of London, or in any other strength, with strong guard, yet, notwithstanding, leave not, for God's sake, to proceed in the enterprize, for I shall at any time die most contentedly understanding of your delivery out of the servitude wherein you are holden as slaves. I shall assay, that at the same time that the work shall be in hand, at that present to make the Catholics of Scotland to rise and put my son in their hands, to the effect that from thence our enemies here may not prevail by any succour. I would also that some stirring were in Ireland, and that it were laboured to begin some time before anything be done here, and then that the alarm might begin thereby on the flat contrary side. That the stroke may come from your designs, to have some general, or chief head, are very pertinent ; and therefore were it good to send obscurely for the purpose to the Earl of Arundel,¹ or some of his brethren, and likewise to seek to the young Earl of Northumberland, if he be at liberty from over the sea ; the Earl of Westmoreland may be had, whose hand and name, you know, may do much in the north parts ; also the Lord Paget, of good ability in some

¹ This passage is unintelligible ; for, as Mary herself observed on her trial, Arundel was at this time a prisoner in the Tower.

shires thereabouts. Both the one and the other may be had, amongst whom secretly some more principal banished may return, if the enterprise be once resolute. The-said Lord Paget is now in Spain, and may treat of all that by his brother Charles, or directly by himself, you will commit unto him touching the affairs. Beware that none of your messengers that you send forth of the realm carry any letters upon themselves; but make their despatches, and send them either after or before them by some others. Take heed of spies and false brethren that are amongst you, especially of some priests, already practised upon by your enemies for your discovery; and in any case, keep never a paper about you that may in any sort do harm, for from like errors have come the condemnation of all such as have suffered heretofore, against whom otherwise nothing could justly have been proved. Discover as little as you can your names and intentions to the French ambassador at London; for although, as I understand, he is a very honest gentleman, yet I fear his master entertaineth a course far contrary to our designment, which may move him to discover us if he had any particular knowledge thereof. All this while I have sued to change and remove from this house, and for answer the Castle of Dudley only hath been named to serve the turn; so as by appearance about the end of this summer I may go thither. Therefore advise as soon as I shall be there what provision may be had about that part for my escape from thence. If I stay here, there is but one of these three ways or means to be looked for:—

“The 1st, That at a certain day appointed for my going abroad on horseback on the moors, between this

and Stafford, where ordinarily, you know, but few people do pass, let fifty or threescore horsemen, well mounted and armed, come to take me away, as they may easily, my keeper having with him but eighteen or twenty horse, armed only with pistols.¹

"The 2d means. To come at midnight, or soon after, and set fire to the barns and stables, which you know are near to the house; and whilst my guardian's servants shall come forth to the fire, your company having duly on a mark whereby they may be known one from another, some of you may surprise the house, where I hope, with the few servants I have about me, I shall be able to give you correspondent aid.

"And the 3d is. Some there be shall bring carts hither early in the morning. These carts may be so prepared, that being in the midst of the great gate the carts might fall down or overthrow; that thereupon you might come suddenly, and make yourselves master of the house, and carry me suddenly away: so you might easily do before any number of soldiers, who lodge in sundry places forth of this place, some half a mile and some a whole mile, could come o relieve. Whatsoever issue the matter taketh, I do and shall, think myself obliged, so long as I live, towards you for the offers you make to hazard yourself as you do for my deliverance; and by any means that ever I may have, I shall do my endeavour to recompense you as you deserve. I have ordered a more complete alphabet to be made for you, which you will herewith

¹ In the State Trials, "with only dogs," i. 1181; in the original French, "pistolles," Labanoff, vi. 393. The translation in the first instance would render this "daggs," a "dagg" being in the sixteenth century the ordinary term for a pistol. From "daggs" to "dogs" the transition is easy.

receive. May the Almighty God protect you. Your
assured good friend for ever,

MARIE R.

“Fail not to burn this privately and quickly.”¹

Of this letter there are three copies in the Record Office, one in French and two in English; but neither the original nor the copy of the cipher has been preserved. There is, however, a postscript in cipher, bearing on its back, in the handwriting of Philipps, the following words: “The postscript of the Scottish queen’s letter to Babington,” to which it is necessary to call the attention of the reader.

We learn from Camden that it was suspected at the time that a postscript had been added to Mary’s letter in Walsingham’s office, for the purpose of implicating her in the plot against Elizabeth.² Now, the letter actually produced contained, as we perceive, no postscript; but the postscript to which we refer, and which is indorsed by Philipps, corresponds exactly with that described by Camden. It is to the following effect: “I would be glad to know the names and qualities of the six gentlemen which are to accomplish the designment; for that it may be I shall be able, upon knowledge of the parties, to give you some further advice, necessary to be followed therein; as also, from time to time, particularly how you proceed, and as soon as you may, for the same purpose, who be already and how far every one privy hereunto.”

It is further necessary to observe that an alteration has been made in this postscript. After the word

¹ State Trials, i. 1180.

² “Quibus subdole additum eodem caractere postscriptum ut nomina sex nobilium ederet, si non et alia.”—See original of Camden, ii. 479.

"therein," the following passage was originally inserted, and then blotted out; but it is still legible: "and even so do I wish to be made acquainted with the names of all such principal persons as also who be already, as also who be," &c.

How are we to account for the existence of this mysterious postscript? ¹ If it was genuine, why was it not produced? If it was forged, why was it pre-

¹ Mr Froude has attempted to explain the existence of the postscript as follows: There is in the Record Office a letter from Curle to Emilio (Gilbert Gifford) dated the 7th of August; and as Mary and her secretaries followed the new style, then recently introduced by Gregory XIII., this letter would, according to the old style, which was still observed in England, bear date ten days earlier—namely, the 28th of July. In this letter Curle says: "I doubt by your former, which I found some difficulty in deciphering, that myself have erred in setting down the addition which I sent you through some haste I had then in despatching thereof. I pray you forbear using the said addition, until that against the next I put the whole at more leisure in better order," &c.

Mr Froude assumes that the "addition" here spoken of by Curle is the postscript in question, and that, in consequence of Curle's instructions, it was not sent on to Babington.

But Gifford was at this time in London; and assuming that Curle's letter had been sent off as soon as it was written, it could not have reached London in less than two days—that is to say, before the 30th. But Babington received Mary's letter on the 29th; so that the postscript, if sent, must have been delivered before Curle's letter reached Gifford. But as no postscript was ever produced, we may conclude that none was sent.

There is another point to be considered. If the postscript was genuine it would have been in Curle's hand, which it certainly is not. There are in the Record Office numerous ciphered letters of Curle (see *Mary Queen of Scots*, vols. xvii., xviii., and xix.) They are easily distinguishable, from the singular neatness and beauty of the characters. The ciphers of the postscript are written in a rough careless hand, totally unlike that of Curle; but they bear a strong resemblance to those of Philipps. There is preserved in the Record Office a specimen of the ciphers of Philipps; and although it would be rash to express a positive opinion upon the subject, their resemblance to the ciphers of the postscript is obvious.—See in the Record Office ciphers of the reign of Elizabeth, vol. ii.

For these reasons we conclude that the "addition" referred to by Curle could not be the "postscript" indorsed in the handwriting of Philipps.

served ? One thing only seems to be clear, that it is an original paper, and not a copy. It may be said that a mistake of a few words, or of a whole line, might have easily been made by a copyist. But the alteration referred to is not the error of a copyist ; it is the deliberate substitution of one passage for another, which the author of the paper could alone have made.

If a conjecture might be hazarded on a matter so dark and dubious, the existence of this suspicious postscript may be accounted for as follows : We know that Philipps sent up to Walsingham on the 19th of July a copy, or a pretended copy, of Mary's letter. If, on deciphering it, he found that it contained no matter implicating her in the plot against Elizabeth, might he not have appended this postscript to it ? and may we not thus account for its preservation among the papers of Walsingham ? True, it was not produced against the Scottish queen ; but may not the forger, upon second thoughts, instead of relying on a postscript merely, have preferred to insert some criminal matter in the body of the letter, which would prove still more clearly her knowledge and approval of the plot ? Is it at all improbable that, like Murray's description to De Silva of Mary's letter to Bothwell, this postscript was the first rough draft of the forgery ? We know that Mary's letter to Babington remained eleven days in the hands of Philipps and Walsingham. There was, therefore, ample time to alter and amend it ; and in the different passages marked in italics, the guilt of Mary is portrayed in colours far more elaborate and distinct than it appears in the discarded postscript.

But the forger had better have adhered to his origi-

nal plan; for we have seen that these murderous passages, which Mary so solemnly declared she never wrote, are flatly contradicted in a subsequent portion of the letter, which, if he had not overlooked, he might easily have expunged.

Mary's letter was dated the 17th of July, and it fell into the hands of Philipps on the following day. On the 19th he sent off a deciphered copy to Walsingham. "You have now," he said, "this queen's answer to Babington, which I received yesternight. If he be in the country, the original will be conveyed into his hands, and like enough an answer returned. I look for your honour's speedy resolution touching his apprehension or otherwise, that I may dispose of myself accordingly. I think, under correction, you have enough of him, unless you would discover more particularities of the confederates, which may be done even in his imprisonment. If your honour mean to take him, ample commission and charge would be given to choice persons for search of his house. It is like enough, for all her commandment, her letter will not soon be defaced. I wish it for an evidence against her, if it please God to inspire her majesty with that heroical courage that were mete for avenge of God's cause, and the security of herself and this State. At least I hope she will hang Nau and Curle," &c.

Considering the extreme importance of Mary's answer, and the eager desire manifested by Philipps to obtain it—attending, as he said, "her very heart"—we cannot but feel surprise at the calm and unimpassioned tone in which he announces to Walsingham the receipt of her anxiously-expected letter. If the version of it afterwards produced by Philipps was genuine, there was

abundant proof of her complicity in the plot against Elizabeth; and we should naturally have expected that he would have expressed, in emphatic terms, his satisfaction that his anticipations had been fulfilled, and congratulated Walsingham that the Scottish queen was at length at his mercy. But, instead of dwelling upon this all-important point, he merely suggests that Babington should be apprehended, and Nau and Curle hanged. As to Mary's letter, he says nothing except that "he wishes it to be used as evidence against her"—and that he might have said if it had not contained a word as to the plot against Elizabeth, for the remaining portion of the letter contained ample proof of her approval, both of the insurrection of the Catholics and of the projected invasion of the Prince of Parma.

Let us now trace the subsequent history of Mary's fatal letter. Babington had informed her that he would be at Litchfield on the 12th of July, but he had not kept his promise. He still lingered in London with his brother-conspirators, who probably by this time began to entertain some suspicion of the spies by whom Walsingham had surrounded them. Philipps was accordingly desired to return to London,¹ and to bring with him Mary's original letter to Babington. On the 26th Philipps arrived in London, but it was not until the 29th that it was delivered to Babington, as he afterwards described, by "a homely serving-man in a blue coat," who, like the "unknown boy," the bearer of Mary's former letter, was an entire stranger to him. Whether the letter thus delivered was the letter of Mary, or an interpolated transcript prepared by Philipps, we have no means of now ascer-

¹ Walsingham to Philipps, July; Record Office.

taining. But when we find a vital link in a chain of evidence supplied at the very time when it is wanted, we naturally regard it with suspicion, and we subject it to the severest tests before we accept it as genuine. And if these precautions are deemed essential at the present time, how much more was that the case in the sixteenth century, when political chicanery had reached its highest or its lowest point? Walsingham, we know, was eager at this time to connect Mary with Babington's plot against the life of Elizabeth. He sends down Philipps to Chartley to obtain the necessary proof, and Philipps returns with all convenient speed, bearing with him the precise evidence that was required. No other proof of Mary's complicity was ever produced except this solitary letter, which remained in the hands of Philipps and of Walsingham no less than eleven days—namely, from the 18th to the 29th of July, and of which an alleged deciphered copy only now exists.

It may be said that the original cipher would be destroyed by Babington; and this is probable enough. But copies in cipher of all the other letters written on the same day by Mary to Charles Paget, Morgan, Mendoza, and others, are still preserved. These letters contain ample proof of her approval of the plan of invasion, as well as of the rising of the Catholics, but they are silent as to the plot against Elizabeth. Can we believe that Philipps made copies of these comparatively unimportant letters, and that he left uncopied the "bloody letter" of Babington, as he himself styled it, and of Mary's equally murderous reply—the two documents, in short, upon which the whole case against the Scottish queen depended? It is at least

a circumstance of very strong suspicion that the ciphers of these two letters alone are missing, while those of all the others are preserved.

It has been said that the authenticity of these two letters was subsequently admitted by Mary's two secretaries, and eventually by Babington himself. This has been stated even by historians favourable to the Scottish queen. But it will be shown, as our narrative proceeds, that this notion has arisen from a misapprehension of the facts, and that no proof exists that these letters were acknowledged either by the secretaries of Mary or by Babington.

Some of my readers may possibly here ask if it is material to inquire whether or not Mary was a party to the conspiracy of Babington. The French ambassador in London, M. de Chateauneuf, said at the time that the Queen of Scots was justified in doing all that was alleged against her to obtain her liberty;¹ and a distinguished modern authority has expressed the same opinion in very decided terms.² It might, indeed, be fairly argued, that any individual, whether sovereign or subject, detained in captivity without a shadow of

¹ "Car estant née princesse souveraine et détenue prisonniere si long temps contre raison, elle ne peut estre blasmée (quand bien elle auroit faict tout ce dont on la veult charger) si elle a cherché tous les moyens de sa delivrance."—Egerton, 232.

² "Babington's conspiracy," says Lord Brougham, "included rebellion, and also the assassination of Elizabeth; and great, and certainly very fruitless pains, are taken by Mary's partisans to rebut the proofs of her having joined it. She indeed never pretended to resist the proof that she was a party to the conspiracy in general; she only denied her knowledge of the projected assassination. But supposing her to have been also cognisant of that, it seems not too relaxed a view of duty to hold that one sovereign princess, detained unjustifiably in captivity by another for twenty years, has a right to use even extreme measures of revenge. In self-defence all means are justifiable, and Mary had no other means than war to the knife against her oppressor."

right for nearly twenty years, and subjected in that long interval to every species of mental torture which human malice could devise, would be justified in resorting even to assassination to regain his liberty. But into this nice question of morals it is unnecessary to enter. Mary from first to last declared that she never assented to the assassination scheme; and she either told a deliberate falsehood, or her accusers were guilty of an atrocious forgery. Nothing can be more clear and distinct than the issue thus raised between them, and it is essential to the character of both that the matter should be determined.

Before leaving the subject of these ciphered letters, we have to call the attention of our readers to a curious correspondence which passed between Gifford and Philipps. It would appear that, some time after their plan had been arranged, the fidelity of Gifford began to be suspected by his employers. As he was still in close communication with Mary's friends in France, and spent as much of his time in Paris as in London, the suspicion was not unnatural; and Philipps, half in jest and half in earnest, seems to have written to him on the subject. Gifford was much alarmed.¹ If his treachery to Mary should be discovered in France, he had just cause to dread the vengeance of the Duke of Guise; and he well knew that in England any kind of evidence would suffice to consign a Papist and a priest to the rack and the quartering-knife. He wrote accordingly to Philipps, protesting with many oaths that he was innocent. Being evidently in a state of great excitement and

¹ Gifford's letter is without date; but he was certainly abroad at the time, and apparently in Paris.

alarm, his letter is written in the most familiar and confidential tone, and it throws a very instructive light upon the proceedings in which he and his correspondent were at the time engaged.

GIFFORD TO PHILIPPS.

“I know not which way to turn me, nor how to answer yours ; but I perceive the ancient speech will be verified that betwixt both I shall lose both, as commonly men of my coat do that deal and bear sincere affection to our prince. Pardon me if I speak boldly, for, by God, you touch me near ; and though I should lose all the friends I have in the world, by God, it is nothing in respect of that wherein most unjustly either you suspect or accuse me, wherein I defy all the world ; and, by Jesus Christ, if there be any man alive that accuseth me therein, I will be in England, if I die a thousand times, either to purge myself before the world, or to die ignominiously therefore ; and if you were my friend a thousand times, let us not jest in such matters : and methinks if you consider all circumstances, either you must condemn me as the veriest ass that ever was, or else you can find no fault in me ; for how would I have delivered their letters, knowing that they wrote everything to the Queen of Scots, or how chance they named not me in their letters ? By Jesus, I wonder how you can conceive any such matter. But this is the truth, as you and I and we all shall one day be judged in the light of the whole world. It is true, I always feared lest matters should be revealed, and I confess your understanding and experience in these points to be good : but yet I will never yield to deal with those men better than myself ; and I am assured

it had been discovered if I had not dealt in such order. Therefore, when Morgan examined me secretly touching the parties that conveyed letters, I was forced to name two, whereof Barnes¹ was one : and for that purpose I dealt with Barnes, never thinking, as Jesus Christ save me, but to make him a colour for Emilio ;² and his writing once or twice would cause all blame to be removed from myself when things should be opened, which I knew must needs be shortly ; and so in truth it is fallen forth, and otherwise it is impossible to have continued. But as God is my witness, I thought to have withdrawn him after that Morgan had fully perceived that the convoy was sure ; and one thing I will tell you, if you handle the matter cunningly, Barnes may be the man to set up the convoy again, for Paget and Morgan be never in rest inquiring for him. I have feigned as though the matter is irrecuperable, and therefore I have speculated upon the point. If you have Barnes, keep him close ; if you have him not, I would you had him in your hands. Howsoever it be, either bring him by promise or fear to write to Morgan ; or if you have him not, *feign his hand to me*. His name was Pietro Maria. *Write by the name of Pietro Maria, discoursing of the whole success* ; and that as chance was, your name never came in question, and that now is time to begin again, which they desire

¹ The account we have of Barnes from one of the conspirators is as follows : " There is one Thomas Barnes, a Warwickshire man, that Gilbert Gifford left in his abode to take such letters as came to the French ambassador's hands for the Queen of Scots, and carry them to the said brewer to be delivered to the queen, and to stay for the queen's answer, which was transported by the ambassador's means."—Confession of John Savage ; Record Office, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xix. It is obvious from Gifford's letter that Barnes was not in the secret of Gifford's treachery.

² One of Gifford's own names.

beyond measure ; and no doubt they *will take hold of it*, for they are about another practice, I assure you : and I pray you be Emilio no more. Let him be one of them that were hanged, for, before God, they will suspect. *After you have written to me, they will leap for joy.* I cannot devise any better course."

Another passage of this remarkable letter is equally significant :—

"Gratley is gone into Germany. Paget feareth nothing now ; but assure yourself he will not come into England without great broils, and that he reckoneth of : therefore take some other course. I know no other course *but to feign a letter from some of his friends, as from Ned Windsor,*¹ for desiring him to meet him in some place most convenient for the feat either to conduct him into England, or deal otherwise as his good services towards her majesty deserveth." He adds : "Paget, Morgan, and Gratley write to me every day. I know that D. Gifford² would easily be brought to the ——. ³ But he is nothing in respect of Paget, whose taking would be hindered. I will play the plot as though I be absent from Paris. There shall not a tittle escape me."

Some of the allusions of Gifford it is impossible now to explain, but there are others which clearly explain themselves. In order to deceive Mary's friends in Paris, he desires Philipps to forge a letter from Barnes, at the sight of which, he says, "they will leap for joy." He further desires him to forge a letter from Edward Windsor to Charles Paget, apparently for the

¹ A brother of Lord Windsor, and a friend of Babington.

² He alludes to his uncle Dr Gifford.

³ Illegible in the MS.

purpose of luring Paget to England, where he might be apprehended. The undisguised and unambiguous terms in which these directions are given are especially worthy of notice. Gifford does not speak of the forging as of some new untried experiment; he treats it as a thing with which both he and his correspondent were perfectly familiar. Now we know for certain that for four or five months the whole of the correspondence of the Queen of Scots passed through the hands of these two men. Can we believe that, when they could discourse thus deliberately of forging, they would have hesitated to tamper with a letter? Is not the presumption strong that, finding nothing in her correspondence that would render her amenable to the recent statute, Philipps at length repaired to Chartley "to attend her very heart," as he himself expressed it, and speedily returned to place in Walsingham's hands Babington's interpolated letter and Mary's interpolated answer? And is not the presumption immensely strengthened when we find that upon these two letters the truth or falsehood of the charge entirely depends?

There is only one other passage in Gifford's letter to which we shall refer. It is as follows: "In truth, I must needs confess I had an inkling of something but, by Jesus, I neither know the matter nor persons—only I know they had an enterprise, and so much I told Secretary Walsingham; and the greatest cause of my going away was that *I feared to be brought to witness some matters concerning the Scottish queen face to face.*"¹ We cannot but commend the prudence of

¹ Gifford to Philipps, deciphered in the handwriting of Philipps; Record Office, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xx.

the spy who, under the circumstances, shrank from confronting the Queen of Scots.

So much for Gilbert Gifford. Let us now turn to his accomplice Philipps. It would be obviously unfair to conclude that he was a practised forger merely from the fact that Gifford asked him to fabricate two letters. But we have abundant proof from other sources that Philipps possessed extraordinary skill in the art—for such in this age it was considered—of forgery. There is in the Cotton Library a confession of one Thomas Harrison, styling himself secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, who states that Philipps could imitate exactly almost any handwriting;¹ and of this statement we have an absolute confirmation from Philipps himself. He was at this time, from Mary's description of him, but a young man; but twenty years later—namely, in the year 1606—we find him confessing to the then Earl of Salisbury that, during the previous reign, he had carried on with some base object an entirely fictitious correspondence. He wrote letters from an imaginary person in this country to a real person abroad,² and thus drew from him certain information,

¹ Caligula, ix. 458.

² It appears that the king had expressed great displeasure on the discovery of Philipps's proceedings, and he addressed Lord Salisbury as follows:—

“Philipps humbly prayeth that the king's majesty may be moved to descend into a gracious consideration of his case, and he doubteth not but his majesty shall find cause to conceive much better of his proceedings than it seemeth he doth.

“The truth is, there never was any real or direct correspondence held with Owen. But by a mere stratagem and sleight in the late queen's time, that state upon an occasion, was entertained in an opinion of an intelligence with an imaginary person on this side, such as was none *in rerum naturâ*, which Owen, abused, did manage on that side, as Philipps for the queen's service did on this. The manner whereof and

which was desired, as he alleged, for State purposes. Are we not, therefore, entitled to assume, that in a matter of such vast importance as that upon which he was now engaged he would not scruple to exert himself to the utmost of his skill? Can we doubt that some spurious writing was enclosed in the packet which Paulet returned to Philipps on the 29th of June with the significant message that he dared not proceed to the execution of his plan?

Such was the character, and such the practices, of Gifford and Philipps, the two men employed by Walsingham to bring the Queen of Scots to the scaffold. Having now obtained evidence sufficient for his purpose, the secretary determined to act. Ballard, who passed by the name of Captain Fortescue, and always appeared in public in a military costume of the newest fashion, was first arrested.¹ He was no doubt regarded by Walsingham as the ringleader of the conspiracy; and having been taken in Babington's lodgings, that infatuated youth now took an extraordinary step. He sought an interview with Walsingham, and

the means were particularly declared to my Lord of Salisbury by Philipps when he was first called in question, who had himself made some use of it in the queen's time; and you, Mr Lieutenant, can, best of any man, remember how the queen and my Lord of Essex served themselves of it.

"In the carriage of this business, the imaginary correspondent being pressed to find somebody that should set afoot certain overtures, touching peace, and the jewels of the house of Burgundy, and suchlike, Philipps was nominated and used for those purposes, to the contentment of both sides, as it fell out at sundry times, without that it was known, or so much as suspected, that Philipps was the man that *indeed managed all matters*."—Quoted from the State Paper Office, 29th April 1606, by Tytler, vol. viii., Appendix, 14.

¹ On the 4th of August. "Being a Popish priest, he came in a grey cloak laid on with gold lace, in velvet hose, a cut sattin doublet, a fair hat of the newest fashion, the band being set with silver buttons," &c.—Speech of the Solicitor-General Egerton; Howell, i. 1150.

offered him his services. He even proposed to repair to France, with the view, as he pretended, of watching the partisans of the Queen of Scots; and the secretary listened to his offers with seeming approbation. But he privately instructed one of his satellites to keep a constant watch upon him. Being in a tavern with this man, Babington accidentally discovered his true occupation, and, giving him the slip,¹ hastened to the lodgings of his friend Gage, in Westminster. They were there joined by Barnwell, Charnock, and Donne; and after a hurried consultation, they all disguised themselves as they best could, and, under cover of night, made their way to Saint John's Wood, which was then, as its name implies, a piece of partially reclaimed forest. They here contrived to subsist for several days; but warrants having been issued for their apprehension, they were all taken in the neighbourhood of Harrow, where it was discovered that a farmer named Bellamy had supplied them with food and shelter, and who subsequently paid the penalty of his humanity with his life.

Babington and his four companions were forthwith conveyed to London and lodged in prison, amid the ringing of bells and the shouts and execrations of the populace, who had been roused to fury by a variety of rumours, carefully circulated by the Government for the purpose. It was given out that the Papists intended both to murder the queen and burn the city; that in some counties they had already risen; and that a French and Spanish army was on its way to England.² Walsingham, meanwhile, had not lost sight of the other

¹ "He rose from the board as it were to pay the shot, leaving his cloak and sword behind him, and ran hastily by dark to Westminster, where Gage changed clothes with him," &c.—Camden, 307.

² Chateaneuf, August 24; Egerton, 74.

conspirators. Salisbury, Travers, and Jones having been provided with horses by their friends, fled northwards; but being hotly pursued, the two former were overtaken in Cheshire and the latter in Wales. Abington contrived to reach Worcestershire, his native county, but was there arrested hiding in a hay-loft. Titchbourne, Savage, and Tilney were surprised and taken in London before they could devise any means of escape. Edward Windsor alone of all the conspirators managed to evade the vigilance of Walsingham, and made his way to France.

All the prisoners were forthwith subjected to the most rigorous examination; but nothing material seems to have been extracted from any of them, except from Savage. His confession, in the handwriting of Philipps, is still extant; and, like the letter of Parry to the queen, it is chiefly remarkable for certain details which it contains, and which were subsequently suppressed. Why Elizabeth's ministers suppressed these passages is obvious. They directly charged Walsingham's agent, Gilbert Gifford, as an accessory to the plot.

"The first thing," said Savage, "which I did know or discover, was that Doctor Gifford, priest and reader of Divinity in the English seminary at Rheims, did solicit me to have slain the queen's majesty, or the Earl of Leicester, which act he affirmeth to be of great merit, and the only means to reform the State, and a thing approved by Doctor Allen, as he gave me to understand, *since my coming to England by Gilbert Gifford*, late reader of Philosophy in the same seminary."¹

¹ Confession of Savage in the handwriting of Philipps; Record Office, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xix.

It was after the arrival of Savage in England, therefore, that Gilbert Gifford instigated him to proceed with the plot, assuring him, by way of incentive, that it was approved by Doctor Allen, the head of the Catholic seminary at Rheims. Beyond this absolutely worthless testimony, we have no proof that Allen ever expressed any such approval.

“It was likewise said by Gilbert Gifford,” continued Savage, “that the Pope did levy great numbers of men in Italy, which colourably marched to serve the Prince of Parma, but were to join with either French or Spaniards to enter into this land.” And again: “Touching the intended invasion of the Spanish and French aforesaid, it is of certainty, *as well by the speeches of Gilbert Gifford with me*, as also by the letters of Morgan, that the French would not attempt to invade before such time as either the Catholics had taken her majesty now reigning, or else might be most certainly assured could be safely delivered out of the hands of Sir Amias Paulet.”

These confessions of Savage, so carefully suppressed by Walsingham and his colleagues,¹ afford strong confirmation of the statement of the French ambassador that the real contriver of the plot was Gilbert Gifford.

Titchbourne, another of the conspirators, declared on his examination that he was opposed to the plan of invasion, “which he would resist, knowing the miseries of conquest,” and that he knew nothing of the murder. He further said that Babington told him he had been persuaded by Ballard, a man of great judgment. This further confirms the narrative of the

¹ In the confession of Savage published in the State Trials, these conversations with Gilbert Gifford are suppressed (i. 1130).

French ambassador, who says that Gifford brought Ballard from France expressly for the purpose of overcoming the scruples of Babington. In consequence of these disclosures, Ballard was racked without mercy, but nothing material appears to have been extorted from him, in spite of the ingenuity of his tormentors.

Many consultations were meanwhile held respecting the disposal of the Queen of Scots; and it was finally determined that her two secretaries should be arrested and brought to London, and that her papers and correspondence should be seized while she was still in ignorance of the fate of Babington and his companions. William Wade, a sworn enemy of the Scottish queen, was sent down to Staffordshire to take the necessary steps; and to keep all knowledge of his visit from the inmates of Chartley, he arranged a meeting with Sir Amias Paulet at some distance from the castle, where they speedily decided on their plan of operations.

Mary's health had improved at Chartley. She was now able to take exercise on horseback; and a day or two after his interview with Wade, Paulet proposed that she should ride with him to Tixall, a house of Sir Walter Aston, some few miles distant, to see a buck-hunt.¹ Suspecting nothing, but surprised perhaps at the unwonted courtesy of her host, Mary readily complied. She was accompanied, probably at the suggestion of Paulet, by both her secretaries, and by various of her attendants. As they approached the gate of Tixall Park, a party of horsemen seemed to be awaiting their arrival; and Mary's heart must have bounded at the thought that at length her friends had come for

¹ On the 8th of August.—Memorial of Paulet; Record Office.

her deliverance. But her keeper eyed the strangers with an unruffled countenance; and the mystery was soon explained by their leader riding forward with a royal warrant for the immediate removal of the Scottish queen to Tixall, and the conveyance of her secretaries to London.

That Mary was indignant at the trick which had been played upon her, and that she addressed some sharp words to Paulet, we can well understand. That she called upon her attendants to draw their swords in her defence we cannot believe,¹ for she must have seen that resistance was hopeless. After witnessing the departure of her secretaries, whom she never saw again, she was hurried on to Tixall without an attendant or a change of dress, and was there kept in close confinement for seventeen days.² From this time forward till the day of her death we know nothing of Mary Stewart except what her enemies have chosen to tell; and how she passed this dreary time at Tixall they have not informed us.

As soon as Mary and her secretaries were disposed of, Paulet and Wade hastened back to Chartley. Her repositories were forthwith broken open and examined with the utmost care. Every letter and every scrap of writing was carefully packed up and sent to Windsor for the perusal of Elizabeth.³ After a clean sweep had been made of everything upon which Wade and Paulet desired to lay their hands, her keeper was ordered to bring her back to Chartley.

¹ Mr Froude states this on the authority of a letter from D'Esneval, (xii. 257); but D'Esneval was in Scotland at the time.

² From the 8th till the 25th of August, when she was brought back to Chartley.

³ N. Yettswert to Walsingham, 19th August; Record Office.

On leaving Tixall, a crowd of beggars, attracted no doubt by the fame of her bounty, had assembled at the gates of the park. "I have nothing for you," she said, addressing them; "I am a beggar as well as you—all is taken from me."¹

On her arrival at Chartley, she found that during her absence Curle's wife had given birth to a daughter. The news of her husband's arrest, and the scenes which followed, had brought on her confinement prematurely; and Mary, never unmindful in the midst of her own distresses of the sufferings of others, hastened to her bedside before proceeding to her own apartments. She there, according to Paulet, told her "to be of good comfort, and that she would answer for her husband in all things that might be objected against him." It appears that for some time past, probably before she was removed from the custody of Lord Shrewsbury, an ecclesiastic, who passed by the name of her almoner, had been allowed to attend her; but, as he had now been removed, she requested Paulet to allow his chaplain to baptise the child which had been born beneath his roof. As the mother was a Protestant, she could have had no objection. But true to his churlish nature, Paulet flatly refused this most reasonable request; and the contrast between the miserable bigotry of the Puritan knight and the tolerant spirit of the Papist queen is alike striking and instructive.² Accustomed by this time to the temper of her keeper, Mary was in no ways discomposed, but, placing the

¹ Paulet to Walsingham, 27th August; Record Office.

² Mr Froude, seeking to justify Paulet, says he refused to allow his chaplain to christen the child when Mary said "it was to bear her own name" (xii. 259). This would make Paulet's conduct still more inexcusable.

infant on her knee, baptised it in his presence by her own name of Mary — a proceeding at which Paulet stood aghast with pious horror. But he charitably added, on reflection, that as she had committed every other crime, he ought not to have been surprised.¹

On proceeding to her apartments she found that her repositories and drawers had been ransacked, and that her papers and correspondence of every kind had been carried off. Did she display anything like conscious guilt on discovering that all her secrets were in the hands of her enemies? If she had been carrying on, as they alleged, a murderous correspondence with Babington, and all had come to light, she could not, even although she had been the most consummate impostor in the world, have failed to show some symptoms of uneasiness. But on witnessing the outrage which had been committed in her absence, she expressed herself, not in alarm, but in honest indignation. Turning to Paulet from the scene before her, she said there were two things of which he could not deprive her, her royal blood and her religion, “which both she would keep until her death.”

Some days after this occurrence Paulet received orders to take possession of all her money. She was confined to her bed at the time, and unable, Paulet informs us, to move her hand. But, accompanied by a magistrate of the district, he entered her apartment, and after explaining his errand, demanded her keys. Paulet says that she at first refused to give them up, and used very bitter words, both against himself and Lord Burghley.² We must

¹ Paulet to Walsingham, 27th August; Record Office.

² See Ellis, iii. 9; Paulet to Burghley.

regret that Paulet has not repeated them; for even in her anger Mary never forgot her rank or sex, and the epithets she applied to her keeper and the lord treasurer were no doubt aptly chosen. He replied, in his own gruff way, that if she did not give up the keys he would break open the drawers forthwith. To this threat she yielded, and Paulet at once took possession, not only of the whole of her money, but also of that belonging to her secretaries. Of French money she had at this time 5000 crowns, and of English £114 in gold and £3 in silver. Paulet generously left her the latter sum to pay the wages of her servants.

Her secretaries were possessed of a still larger sum. In the repositories of Nau, who belonged to a family of some distinction in France,¹ were found three bags containing upwards of £1400 in gold, and a gold chain worth £100. The money belonging to Curle amounted, according to Paulet, exactly to 2000 crowns, which he said was the queen's marriage-gift to him and his wife. But Wade had reported, on the occasion of the first search, that there were three canvas bags, each containing 1000 crowns; and if Wade was correct, one of them had disappeared in the interval.

Of these different sums Paulet kept £500 of Nau's money for the use of the household.² What became of the remainder we do not know.

Her two secretaries had meanwhile been carried up to London, where they were kept close prisoners in Walsingham's house; and it was now his business to induce them to accuse their mistress. It was necessary for his purpose to prove that she either wrote, or

¹ He was the brother of the Seigneur de Fontenay.

² Paulet to Burghley, *ubi supra*.

caused to be written, the fatal letter to Babington; and to this fact her two secretaries could alone depose. The mode in which she carried on her English correspondence was, according to the testimony of Nau, as follows: She either composed with her own hand in French, or dictated to Nau in the same language, the minutes or heads of the letter she desired to write. It was then written out by Nau, and examined and corrected by herself; and it was finally translated into English and put into ciphers by Curle. Both were therefore able to speak as to the identity of the letter which Mary is said to have addressed to Babington, and of which an alleged copy, deciphered by Philipps, was in the hands of Walsingham.

The secretaries at first would say nothing to criminate their mistress; but it is said that they were eventually induced, by promises or threats, to make various statements admitting that she had caused them to write the fatal letter to Babington. As to the true nature of these confessions we have no certain knowledge, for the originals have disappeared; and it would be preposterous, knowing as we do the practices of Walsingham and his subordinates, to place any reliance on the so-called copies of these documents which now exist. Even if genuine, the confessions of men made in dread of torture and death would have little weight. In their present shape they are absolutely worthless.¹

¹ Mr Froude, on the subject of the documents still preserved relative to Mary's complicity with Babington, expresses himself as follows: "Every document of consequence was submitted to a committee, of which two peers were members who had been hitherto the keenest advocates of her claims—Shrewsbury, in whom she had herself the most perfect confidence, and Cobham, who had more than once been implicated

Some points respecting the examination of the two secretaries are, however, worthy of note.

On the 4th of September, up to which time it is not alleged that they had said anything to criminate their

in conspiracies in her favour. *Every deciphered letter in the vast collection bears endorsed upon it the signatures of Shrewsbury and Cobham, besides those of Burghley and Walsingham and Sir Francis Knollys.* The cipher keys themselves bear signs of no less scrupulous examination. The most exaggerated precautions were thought necessary against suspicion of unfair dealing."—Vol. xii. 258. In this extraordinary passage Mr Froude has surpassed himself. The documents to which he refers are contained in two volumes of State papers in the Record Office, entitled *Mary Queen of Scots*, vols. xviii. and xix. I have carefully examined them all, and I find only one solitary paper attested in the manner Mr Froude describes, and bearing the signatures of Burghley, Shrewsbury, Hunsdon, Cobham, and Walsingham. But the document upon which these names appear is neither original nor important. It is a deciphered copy, in the handwriting of Philipps, of a letter from Morgan to the Queen of Scots, dated the 9th of July. It is printed in Murdin, p. 528; and on referring to it, the reader will find that it contains no allusion to the Babington conspiracy.

This is the only deciphered letter in the whole collection which bears an original attestation. There is at the end of the deciphered French copy of Mary's letter to Babington an attestation by Babington himself, as well as by Mary's secretaries. But this important document is not attested by any of Elizabeth's ministers. It is wholly in the handwriting of Philipps, and the following is a copy of the attestations :—

C'est la copie des lettres de la royne d'Escosse dernièrement à moy envoyées.

Ainsi signé,
ANTHONIE BABINGTON.

Je pense de vray que l'est la lettre escript par sa majesté à Babington comme il me souvenir.

6th Sept. 1586.
Ainsi signé, NAU.

Telle ou semblable me semble avoir esté la response escript en Francoys par M. Nau laquelle j'ay produit et mis en chiffre comme j'en fais mention au pied d'une copie de la lettre de M. Babington laquelle M. Nau a signé le premier.

Ainsi signé,
GILBERT CURLE.
5th Sept. 1586.

mistress, Burghley—chuckling nevertheless over her approaching fate, of which he now felt assured—suggested, in a note to the Vice-Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton, that the two secretaries might be induced “to yield in writing somewhat to confirm their mistress’ crime, if they were persuaded that themselves might escape and the blow fall upon their mistress, *betwixt her head and her shoulders*.”¹ The old lord treasurer was unusually jocular on the occasion. He was evidently confident that the blood for which he had thirsted for more than twenty years was about to be shed at last.

We may probably conclude from this letter that some kind of promises were held out to the two secretaries to induce them to accuse their mistress; but before it was written Nau had made a most important statement. It was to the effect that the minute of the letter to Babington was in Mary’s own hand, that it was among the papers seized at Chartley and was then in the hands of Walsingham.² The production of this paper, therefore, would have settled at once the question of Mary’s innocence or guilt.

But it never was produced. On the day following the date of Nau’s statement, Walsingham informed Philipps that it could not be found.³ He did not question the truth of Nau’s statement; and, in fact,

¹ Burghley to Hatton, September 4; from Mr Leigh’s Collection in British Museum.

² Il luy pleust me bailler une minute de lettre *escripte de sa main* pour la polir et mettre au net, ainsi qu’il apparoit à vos honneurs avoir esté fait ayant *l’une et l’autre entre vos mains*.”—Statement of Nau of 3d September 1586.

³ “The minute of her answer is not extant.”—Walsingham to Philipps, 4th September; Record Office.

Nau had no motive for asserting that the minutes in question were in existence if he knew they had been destroyed. But Walsingham had a very strong motive for destroying them, if they had been discovered and were found to contain nothing implicating the Scottish queen in the plot against Elizabeth. We have already seen how unhesitatingly he and his colleagues could suppress any piece of evidence which they deemed it inconvenient to produce.

In a long memorial subsequently addressed to Elizabeth by Nau on the 10th of September, he declared in the most solemn manner that Mary was induced to write to Babington in consequence of the note she had received from Morgan, and that the long letter of Babington was the first intimation she had received of the conspiracy.¹ He added that, in replying to his letter, she thought it best to take no notice of the design against Elizabeth, although, under the circumstances, she did not consider herself bound to reveal it. In proof of the truth of this statement he again referred to the minutes of her letter to Babington, which would be found among the papers seized at Chartley. This memorial bears on the face of it a strong appearance of probability; but because it exculpated Mary on the essential point in dispute, Burghley, with his accustomed impartiality, indorsed it with his own hand "Long statement of Nau of things of no importance."

In confirmation of the statements of Nau, Mary, when before her judges at Fotheringay, appealed to

¹ "Il est très véritable que Babington luy escrivit la dite longue lettre comme tout un nouveau subject dont elle n'avoit onques ouy parler."—Mémoire de Nau; Labanoff, vii. 208. "La lettre de Morgan et sa minutte pour Babington doivent estre parmy les papiers du dit Curle."—Ibid., 209.

her own notes or minutes in proof of her innocence of any design against the person of Elizabeth,¹ and demanded that they should be produced. And she did this in entire ignorance of the declarations of her secretary, with whom she never had any communication, direct or indirect, after his arrest.

Walsingham and his creatures still searched, or pretended to search, for the missing minutes of the fatal letter; and it was at length given out, on the alleged authority of Curle, that he had burnt them by command of his mistress. But this story was not told at Fotheringay in presence of the Scottish queen. It was told behind her back in the Star Chamber at Westminster, where there was no possibility of contradiction.² At Fotheringay she repeatedly called on her accusers to produce her notes, and they never once ventured in her presence to assert that she had ordered them to be destroyed.

During these investigations Elizabeth seems to have been in a state of unusual excitement and alarm, and she became more unmanageable as the time approached for the trial of Babington and his accomplices. She even pretended that she wrote a confidential letter about this time to the Queen of Scots, in which she assured her that, if she would make a full confession³ of the practices in which she had been engaged, all

¹ State Trials, i. 1183.

² Hardwick Papers, i. 250.

³ See her speech to the Parliament of 1586 (Camden, 325), in which she spoke as follows: "So far from bearing her (Mary) any ill-will, that upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote unto her secretly that, if she would confess them by a private letter unto myself, they should be wrapped up in silence. Neither did I write thus in mind to entrap her, for I knew then as much as she could confess," &c.

should be forgotten and forgiven. But Elizabeth so rarely told the truth, even when it was her interest to do so, that no reliance can be placed upon her unsupported statement, the more especially as she added that Mary took no notice of her letter. The story, indeed, is altogether incredible. Mary, we know, was the most punctual of correspondents; and it is certain that she never left any former letter of Elizabeth unanswered, although Elizabeth very frequently failed to reply to her. It is quite possible that, agitated as she was by contending passions, she may have entertained the notion of writing to Mary at this time; but if she had actually written and sent off such a letter as she described, it would certainly have drawn from Mary an answer of some kind, although probably not such a one as her rival was eager to obtain.

A special commission had been issued for the trial of Babington and his accomplices; and on the day before their arraignment, a letter was addressed by Burghley to the Vice-Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton, which described in very striking terms the state of agitation and alarm of their mistress. She had suddenly¹ become impressed with the belief that her own life would be placed in jeopardy if anything came out at the trial which implicated the Scottish queen. It might lead to some desperate attempt on the part of her friends, who were still numerous in

¹ "Her majesty suddenly here falleth into an opinion that if anything should to-morrow be given in evidence against the Scottish queen whereby it might be thought that she should be criminally touched for her life, it might be perilous to her majesty's person now presently before anything should be executed upon that queen," &c.—Burghley to Hatton, 12th September 1586; from Papers of Mr Leigh, now in the British Museum.

London; and therefore all unnecessary provocation was to be avoided. It was no doubt in consequence of these instructions to Hatton, who was on the special commission, that on the trial of Babington and his friends no reference was made to the alleged complicity of the Queen of Scots in their crimes.

The letter of Burghley to Hatton contained another passage of a still more remarkable kind respecting the duty of the judges at the forthcoming trial. "She commanded me to write," said the lord treasurer, "that when the judges should give their judgment for the manner of their death, which she saith must be done according to the usual form, yet in the end of the sentence they may say that such is the form-usual; but yet, considering this manner of horrible treason against her majesty's own person hath not been heard of in this kingdom, it is reason that *the manner of their death for more terror be referred to her majesty and her Council.*"

Elizabeth rightly assumed that the conviction of Babington and his friends was a matter of certainty; but, like Sir Thomas Lucy, she thought the law of treason was too lenient, and ought to be amended. Burghley ventured to differ with her in opinion, and for the following reasons:—

"I told her majesty that if the fashion of the execution shall be duly and orderly executed by *protracting of the same both to the extremity of the pains in the action*, and in the sight of the people to behold it, the manner of their death would be as terrible as any other new device could be; but therewith her majesty *was not satisfied*, but commanded thus to write to

you, to declare it to the judges and others of the Council.”¹

We have here an edifying picture : the great Protestant queen seeking to devise some kind of punishment, more horrible still than the law allowed, to be inflicted on certain of her subjects who had not as yet been even put upon their trial ; and her great minister seeking to console her with the assurance that if due care were taken to protract the agony of the sufferers to the extreme limits of human endurance, the existing mode of punishment was as terrible as any novelty that could be invented,—and yet “her majesty was not satisfied.” Her savage Tudor blood was fairly roused. Her thirst of vengeance was as unquenchable as in 1569, after the rising in the north had been suppressed ; and she repeated her commands to Burghley to deliver her Draconian message to the judges.

On the 13th of September, Babington and six of his companions—namely, Titchbourne, Salisbury, Barnwell, Savage, Donne, and Ballard—were arraigned at Westminster. It does not appear that any of them had been tortured, excepting Ballard, who had been so severely racked that he was unable to walk, and was carried to the bar in a chair.²

On his arraignment Savage pleaded guilty, and his example was followed by all the others. Ballard denied that he had intended to kill the queen, but he admitted that he had “practised the delivery of the

¹ Burghley to Hatton, 12th September 1586 ; Egerton MSS., British Museum : Papers relating to the Babington conspiracy, from Mr Leigh's Collection.

² Letter in Record Office.

Queen of Scots, and went about to alter the religion." On Babington being called upon to plead, he began, in the language of the report, "with a mild countenance, a sober gesture, and a wonderful good grace, to declare the beginnings and proceedings of his treasons."¹ We can hardly doubt that if, as these words imply, he gave a narrative of the plot, he must have alluded to his acquaintance with Gilbert Gifford. But no mention is made of Gifford in the summary of his speech. "In the end," according to the report, "he laid all the blame upon Ballard for bringing him to his destruction."

Barnwell said he never intended harm to the queen, but to the other matters charged he pleaded guilty. Titchbourne at first admitted that he was in the secret of the conspiracy and had not divulged it, but denied that he had committed treason; but he was finally induced to plead guilty. Donne and Salisbury followed his example, although the latter declared that he always protested against the killing of the queen, which he would not do for a kingdom.

We may assume that by this time Burghley or Hatton had succeeded in persuading Elizabeth to allow the law to take its ordinary course; for after all had pleaded, the prisoners were asked one by one in the usual form why they should not be sentenced to die as traitors.

Ballard spoke first, but not one word of his speech has been preserved. It is not unreasonable to suspect that, knowing he was about to die, he may have made

¹ State Trials, vol. i.

charges against Elizabeth's ministers which it was deemed prudent to suppress.¹

Babington, on his name being called, once more declared that Ballard had instigated him to kill the queen.

"Yea, Mr Babington," said Ballard, "lay all the blame on me; but I wish the shedding of my blood might be the saving of your life. Howbeit, say what you will; I will say no more."²

There was an unflinching courage, and even a kind of magnanimity in the reply, which showed the dangerous stuff of which this man was made. He had been racked and tortured until his limbs were powerless, but nothing would induce him to bear witness against his comrades.

Savage and Titchbourne said nothing. Barnwell and Donne said that what they had done was for conscience' sake, and Salisbury besought the queen to pardon his offence. Sir Christopher Hatton then addressed the prisoners in a long speech, expatiating on the enormity of their crime, and denouncing in particular the wickedness of Ballard, an emissary of "those devilish priests and seminaries, against whom he doubted the Parliament had not yet sufficiently provided," and who by his persuasion had brought "to utter destruction a sort of brave youth otherwise endowed with good gifts." All were then sentenced in the usual form to die as traitors.

On the 15th September the remaining seven pri-

¹ The report only says: "Ballard spake something, but not to any effect."—State Trials, i. 1138.

² Ibid.

soners were placed at the bar — namely, Abington, Tilney, Jones, Travers, Charnock, Gage, and Bellamy. They all pleaded not guilty, and it must be now admitted that they were all condemned on very insufficient evidence.

To prove the guilt of Abington, certain confessions of Babington were read.¹ To these Abington answered that it was true that Babington had made him privy to his treasons and that he had concealed them; but he added, “When he told me strangers would invade this realm to reform religion, I protested. I had rather be drawn to Tyburn by the heels for my religion than have it reformed by strangers. And for Babington’s accusations, what force can it be of? for he, having committed and confessed treason in the most high degree, there was no hope for him but to accuse.”

Abington further reminded the judges that, by the statute passed in the 13th year of Elizabeth, it was provided that in all trials for treason at least two witnesses should be produced in open court to prove the charge.

To this very pertinent objection no reply was made, except by the chief-baron (Manwood), who remarked that the prisoner “answered by arguments and not by answers.”

¹ He applied to be furnished with writing materials, that he might take notes of the evidence, but his request was refused. The following conversation passed on the subject:—

ABINGTON.—“I beseech your honours I may have a pair of writing-tables, to set down what is alleged against me, that I may yield a sufficient answer thereunto.”

THE CLERK OF THE CROWN.—“It was never the course here.”

HATTON.—“When you hear anything you are desirous to answer, you shall speak an answer at full, which is better than a pair of tables.”—State Trials, i. 1143.

Tilney, who was one of the queen's pensioners, strenuously denied that he had ever assented to the conspiracy, and "that it was no treason to hear treason talked by others." Against Jones there was no evidence at all, except that after Babington's apprehension he had given Salisbury a horse, upon which he fled from London. "My case was hard and lamentable," said Jones, "either to betray my dearest friend, whom I loved as my own self, or else to break my allegiance to my sovereign, and so undo myself and my posterity for ever." Travers had served along with Savage under the Prince of Parma, and fled from London under a feigned name along with Salisbury. "He seemed not to care," says the report, "what evidence came against him, but was resolute to be hanged."

Charnock had also served in the Spanish army in the Netherlands, and had there become acquainted with Savage, for whom he admitted having provided a disguise when he fled from London.

Gage admitted that Ballard had lodged with him, and that they had travelled together in the north; and Bellamy, the farmer at Harrow, confessed that he had given food and shelter to Babington and his companions after their flight from London. "Bellamy," according to the report, "spoke very little for himself; only he seemed to be a very clownish, blunt, wilful, and obstinate Papist." Against all the prisoners a verdict of guilty was returned, and they were all sentenced to death in the usual form.

The execution of Babington was appointed to take place on the 20th September; and on the morning of that day he made a declaration, which is still extant. As this is the only original contemporary confession

relating to the conspiracy which has been preserved, it is important that it should be laid before the reader. The paper upon which it is written contains a variety of ciphers, and on the back are the following words: "I do acknowledge the last of the within written alphabet to be the very same by which I writ unto the Queen of Scots. Anthonie Babington. Acknowledged the 20th day of September 1586."¹

There is no doubt that this is a genuine paper; and it may be taken as an admission of Babington's guilt, which, in fact, he had already admitted on his trial. But what does it prove against the Queen of Scots? Simply and absolutely nothing. The question is not what he wrote to her, but what she wrote to him. Upon this essential point Babington's confession, as to which there has been much misapprehension, leaves us as much in the dark as ever. Even Dr Lingard, who throughout his History is favourable to the Scottish queen, was under the impression that on the morning of his execution Babington acknowledged as genuine a copy of the fatal letter which he had sent to Mary, and also a copy of her reply.² But from the terms of his confession it may be seen that this is an entire mistake. We can well believe that every effort was

¹ Record Office; Domestic series. Babington's subscription is written in a remarkably fine clear hand. The rest of the paper is written in a different hand; but it is attested by the Attorney-General Popham, the Solicitor-General Egerton, Lord Hunsdon, Sir Francis Knollys, and various other persons of note.

² He says that Babington, "before his execution, was prevailed upon to acknowledge as true, by his subscription, the copies of his letter to Mary Stewart, and of her answer to him," &c. But of such letters Babington says nothing in his confession. He speaks of the alphabet only.—See the very able note on the subject of the Babington conspiracy; Lingard, vi., Appendix T T.

made before his execution to induce him to make some more definite charge against the Scottish queen ; and in the hopes of obtaining some mitigation of the terrible punishment he was about to undergo, he had a powerful motive for disclosing all he knew. Yet nothing was extorted from him but a declaration which, so far as regards her innocence or guilt, is wholly irrelevant.

After signing this paper, Babington, along with Ballard, Savage, Titchbourne, Tilney, Barnwell, and Abington, was carried to St Giles's in the Fields, where they had been accustomed to meet, and which was appointed to be the place of their execution. Ballard first addressed the people, declaring that whatever he had done was for the advancement of the true religion. Babington declared that he had been induced to conspire against the queen, not from any hope of temporal profit, but because he had been persuaded that the action was lawful and meritorious. He was now convinced of his error, and implored her forgiveness, hoping, for the sake of his family, that she would not allow his lands to be forfeited, but permit them to descend to his brother.¹ Savage and Barnwell both declared that zeal for their religion had alone induced them to join in the conspiracy. The longest address was made by Titchbourne, who admitted that Babington had informed him of the plot, but that he had never approved of it, and that regard for his friend had alone induced him to conceal it. "Before this thing chanced," he said, "we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went

¹ The queen gave his estate to a new favourite, Sir Walter Raleigh.—Murdin, 785.

report in the Strand, Fleet Street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Titchbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows what less in my head than matters o State?" He concluded by declaring that he was descended of a house "from two hundred years before the Conquest" never stained with crime, and heartily asked forgiveness of her majesty and all the world.¹

Tilney made a short speech, declaring that he was a true Catholic, upon which he was interrupted by the Protestant minister, a Dr White, who was present. Tilney replied, "I came hither to die, Doctor, and not to argue." Notwithstanding this just rebuke, the zealous divine proceeded to question Abington as to his religious views. Abington said that he was of that

¹ The following touching lines were composed by Titchbourne the night before his execution:—

" My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
 My feast of joy is but a dish of pain,
 My crop of corn is but a field of tares,
 And all my goodes is but vain hope of gain.
 The day is fled, and yet I saw no sun;
 And now I live, and now my life is done!

My spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung;
 The fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green;
 My youth is past, and yet I am but young;
 I saw the world, and yet I was not seen;
 My thread is cut, and yet it is not spun:
 And now I live, and now my life is done!

I sought for death, and found it in the wombe;
 I lookt for life, and yet it was a shade;
 I trade the ground, and knew it was my tombe;
 And now I dye, and now I am but made.
 The glass is full, and yet my glass is run;
 And now I live, and now my life is done!"

—See 'Curiosities of Literature,' by Disraeli, who also prints a farewell letter of Titchbourne to his young wife, ii. 195.

faith which prevailed "in almost all Christendom, excepting here in England;" and desiring to be troubled with no more questions, prepared to meet his fate in the manner prescribed by his own Church. Ballard, as the principal conspirator, was then put to death in the presence of his companions with studied cruelty, and they afterwards all shared his fate. Burghley's advice to his mistress that their sufferings should be carefully protracted was followed to the letter.¹

Seven of their companions still remained to be executed on the following day; but whether in the interval the queen relented, or whether, as appears more probable, the pity and disgust of the spectators had been excited to a dangerous pitch by the horrid scene, it was not repeated. Salisbury, Donne, Jones, Charnock, Travers, Gage, and Bellamy, were all allowed to hang till they were dead before they were cut to pieces by the executioner. A brother of Bellamy, who was charged like him with giving food and shelter to some of the conspirators after their flight from London, strangled himself in prison before the trial.²

It is impossible to regard without sympathy the fate of these unhappy men. If we except Ballard and Savage, they were certainly not of the materials of

¹ "Ballard was first executed. He was cut down and bowelled with great cruelty while he was alive. Babington beheld Ballard's execution without being in the least daunted; whilst the rest turned away their faces, and fell to prayers upon their knees. Babington being taken down from the gallows alive too, and ready to be cut up, he cried aloud several times in Latin, *Force mihi, Domine Jesu!* Savage broke the rope, and fell down from the gallows, and was presently seized on by the executioner, his privities cut off, and his bowels taken out while he was alive. Barnwell, Titchbourne, Tilney, and Abington were executed with equal cruelty."—Howell, i. 1158.

² Ibid., i. 1141.

which conspirators in general are made. Babington and his companions were all young men in affluent, or at least in easy circumstances, and it was by working on his chivalrous feelings that Gifford appears to have induced him to attempt the rescue of the Queen of Scots and the restoration of the ancient faith. His most intimate friends—Titchbourne, Salisbury, and their companions—seem to have given their assent to the scheme more in the spirit of good-fellowship than as political partisans ready to follow an acknowledged leader. No person, in fact, of political note in England was implicated in the plot. The real leader was not Babington, but Ballard—a daring and determined fanatic,¹ who was quite prepared to risk his life in the cause of his religion; and in a less sanguinary age, as no actual violence had been committed, the sacrifice of his life, and perhaps of that of one or two others, might have been deemed sufficient. But, as Walsingham expressed it, the design was “to break the neck of all dangerous practices during her majesty’s reign;” and therefore the guilty and the comparatively innocent were all, without distinction, hurried to the scaffold. That Walsingham should have expressed himself in language so significant *before* he was in possession of any evidence against the Queen of Scots, raises the not unreasonable presumption that he knew and approved of the whole of the proceedings of Gilbert Gifford, by whose devilish devices the conspirators

¹ Mendoza, writing to Philip on the subject of the execution, says: “El Balart, que era clérigo, y el que primero executaron, los exorto á todos y animo con que pues havian sido catholicos en la vida, lo mostrassen en la muerte.”—Teulet, v. 414.

had, step by step, been lured to their destruction. Gifford died, not long afterwards, the inmate of a French prison¹—a fitting termination of his infamous career.

¹ Camden says he was imprisoned in France for "dishonesty of life," p. 308.

CHAPTER XXV.

FOTHERINGAY.

IN the course of this summer and autumn, a correspondence took place between the Catholic nobility of Scotland and the Spanish Government which at one time promised to lead to important results. Letters were addressed to Philip by the Earl of Huntly,¹ Lord Claud Hamilton, and Lord Maxwell,² in which they assured him that, with his assistance, they were prepared not only to rescue the young king from the faction by which he was held in thralldom, but to re-establish the Catholic religion in Scotland. They despatched a confidential emissary, named Robert Bruce, to Madrid, to explain in detail their plans to the Spanish king, and they sent Colonel Stewart to Paris to confer on the subject with Mendoza and the Duke of Guise, both of whom expressed their warm approval of the scheme. Mendoza in particular, enthusiastic in the cause of his religion, and implacable in his enmity to Elizabeth, urged Philip, in the

¹ This earl succeeded to the title in 1576.—See Douglas's 'Peerage of Scotland.' His father, as we have seen, had been a Protestant, but he resumed the old religion, which he was now anxious to see restored in Scotland.—See his letter to Philip of 15th May 1586; Teulet, v. 349.

² Now created Earl of Morton.—See his letter to Philip of 20th May 1586; Teulet, v. 353.

strongest terms, to embrace the project of the Scottish lords. All they required was a sum of money to secure the services of their friends and retainers, who, they alleged, were fully a match for their opponents. As for the intrigues of Elizabeth, he reminded Philip¹ and the Prince of Parma that in times past the Scots had maintained their independence without losing an inch of territory when England was united, and not split into rival factions as was now the case; and that, moreover, the present opportunity was peculiarly favourable, as, in addition to the notorious disaffection at home, all the available forces in the kingdom were employed in the Netherlands. Philip listened to the arguments of Mendoza with apparent approval; but before coming to any decision on the matter, he referred him to the Prince of Parma, who, like his predecessor Alva, seemed to regard with a considerable amount of misgiving any military enterprise directed against Britain. His reply to Mendoza was not encouraging. He reminded him that the great majority of the people in Scotland were heretics, that the king was little better than a prisoner in their hands, and that they had always been supported more or less actively by the Queen of England. There was another important point to be considered before any final decision could be arrived at—What were the real opinions and intentions of their master the King of Spain? Until these were ascertained, nothing could be done.² Upon the whole, Parma recommended that

¹ See his letters to Philip and to the Prince of Parma; Teulet, v. 367, 407. It does not appear that Mary was aware of this movement of the Catholics in Scotland.

² Y pues, para poderse resolver bien en este punto y negocio, convenia saber los designos que tiene su magestat en su real pecho, me parece

for the present Mendoza should not commit himself to the Scottish lords, further than by commending their loyalty, and expressing a confident hope that an opportunity would be soon afforded them for its display. It would appear from these remarks that the ministers of Philip were at times quite as much at a loss as those of Elizabeth to ascertain the real intentions of their sovereign.

It had now become necessary to decide on the fate of the Queen of Scots. The evil day which Elizabeth had all along foreseen, and which she could not but regard with doubt and dread, had arrived at last. Guilty or innocent, it mattered not in the political philosophy of the sixteenth century. It was enough that the Scottish queen was a source of constant danger to the State; and with a Spanish invasion no longer looming in the distance, but to all appearance imminent and inevitable, the peril had increased tenfold, and with it the necessity of the sacrifice had become imperative. So reasoned the politicians of that day. Some of the Crown lawyers were even of opinion that she might be tried like any other criminal, by a judge of assize and a Staffordshire jury. But the notion was indignantly scouted by Elizabeth, not from

que no se puede tomar aca otra resolucion, hasta saber esto," &c.—Parma to Mendoza, 21st November 1586; Teulet, v. 431.

¹ "You lawyers," she said, "are so curious in scanning the nice points of the law, and following of precedents and forms, rather than expounding the laws themselves, that by exact observing of your forms she must have been indicted in Staffordshire, and have holden up her hand at the bar, and have been tried by a jury of twelve men—a proper course, forsooth, of trial against a princess! To avoid, therefore, such absurdities, I thought it better to refer the examination of so weighty a cause to a good number of the noblest personages of the land and the judges of the realm; and all little enough. For we princesses are set, as it were, upon stages, in the sight and view of all the world," &c.—See Elizabeth's

regard to her prisoner, but because she considered it derogatory to the royal dignity. The civilians were next set to work, and much antiquarian rubbish was raked up, in the hope that some authority might be found to prove that princes might be lawfully put to death. It was true that no precedent for any such act could be found in the annals of Britain or of France; but certain examples of ancient and medieval history were confidently relied upon by the doctors of the civil law as authorities in point. It must be admitted that at the present day it is impossible to see their application.¹

speech to the Houses of Parliament in Camden; and State Trials, i. 1194.

¹ There were four examples relied upon by the civilians—*i.e.*, those of Dejotarus, Licinius, Conradin, and Joanna of Naples. The first of these was king or tetrarch of Galatia, a tributary of the Romans, who took the part of Pompey in the war with Cæsar. After the defeat of his rival, Cæsar deprived Dejotarus of the greater portion of his dominions, but, with his accustomed clemency, spared his life.—See Lemprière, and authorities there cited.

Licinius was the brother-in-law of Constantine the Great; and the description of his death, as related by Gibbon, might almost have been written word for word regarding that of the Queen of Scots. "*According to the rules of tyranny*," says the first of English historians, "he was accused of forming a conspiracy, and of holding a treasonable correspondence with the barbarians; but as he was never convicted, either by his own conduct or by any legal evidence, we may perhaps be allowed from his weakness to presume his innocence."—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, A.D. 324.

Conradin was the grandson of the Emperor Frederick II., who had been deprived of his kingdom of Naples by Pope Urban VII. In an attempt to recover the crown of his ancestors, Conradin was in 1268 defeated and taken prisoner by Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., to whom the Pope had granted the kingdom. By a barbarous exercise of the rights of war as understood in the thirteenth century, Conradin, although not eighteen years old, was publicly executed at Naples by orders of his conqueror.—See Mezeray, *Hist. de France*.

Between Joanna of Naples and the Queen of Scots the only point of resemblance was, that each had been accused of the murder of her husband. But the charge now made against Mary was not that she had

It was finally resolved, after many anxious consultations, that Mary should be brought to trial under the statute of the preceding year, which had been passed with the express object of giving Elizabeth the necessary jurisdiction. A royal commission was accordingly issued to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and a number of the chief nobility, to inquire into all offences, "tending to the hurt" of the Queen of England, committed since the 1st of June by "Mary, daughter and heir of James V., King of Scots, and commonly called Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France, pretending title to the crown of this realm of England." Whether she should be lodged in the Tower, like other State prisoners, was the question next discussed; but as she had many partisans in London, it was finally decided that she should be brought to trial at the castle of Fotheringay, a place of great strength, in Northamptonshire. She had been removed, for greater security, to this the last of her English prisons on the 25th of September.

The French Government was duly apprised by M. de Chateauneuf of the imminent peril in which the Scottish queen now stood, and he urged the king in the strongest terms to interfere in her behalf. Henry and his mother not only remained deaf to his entreaties, but left him without instructions of any kind. Chateauneuf, notwithstanding, addressed a letter to Elizabeth on his own responsibility, in which he ventured to remind her of the many wrongs and sufferings of the Queen of Scots during her long im-

killed her husband, but that she had sought to kill Elizabeth.—See Record Office, Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xx.; and Strype's Annals, vol. iii., Appendix.

prisonment in England, and earnestly requested that, as she was about to be arraigned on a charge affecting her life, she should be allowed an advocate to assist in preparing her defence; that this was the more necessary as she was not only a sovereign princess, but was wholly unacquainted with the laws of England, and that he was not aware that in any country in the world such a privilege would be refused to a stranger, even of inferior rank, who was accused of a capital crime.¹ To this spirited remonstrance Elizabeth replied, through Lord Hunsdon, that she had carefully considered, with the assistance of her Council, what was necessary and just, and that she required no advice from foreign sources; that the Queen of Scots, although a sovereign by birth, having conspired in England against the State, was amenable to the laws of England; and that those who are charged with such crimes are universally deemed to have forfeited all right to the aid of counsel.² In his confidential letters, Chateaufort complained bitterly of the apathetic conduct of his master, and remarked that his influence at the Court of Elizabeth was not now equal to that of the young King of Scots.

Every effort had in the mean time been made to conciliate James, and to convince him of the justice and necessity of the proceedings about to be taken against his mother. Randolph was once more sent to Scotland, not on this occasion with a present of horses or hounds, but with certain experienced "hunting men,"³ whose services in the Falkland woods it was

¹ See his letter in Cheruel, 150. It is dated Oct. 7.

² *Ibid.*, 151.

³ "I have sent the king two hunting men, very good and skilful, with one footman that can hoop, hollow, and cry, that all the trees in Falk-

thought the young monarch would duly appreciate. The Master of Gray was at the same time instructed to sound him on the subject of the approaching trial. But James, though essentially mean and selfish, was not wholly devoid of feeling; and Gray found him so intractable when he touched upon the question of his mother's treatment that, in order to overcome his opposition, Walsingham had recourse to a somewhat hazardous device. He desired Gray to revive the story of Darnley's death, and to remind James that his father had been murdered by his mother. "I thank you," he said, "for sounding the king's disposition how he could be content to have the queen his mother proceeded against for the late fact. But I suppose it will be in vain to move him any farther in it, because he may conceive it would be against *bonos mores*, in respect of the bond of nature between them, that he should make himself a party against her. Nevertheless, you may with good reason persuade him that he make no mediation for her, or oppose himself against the course that is intended to be held with her, considering the hard measure that his father received at her hands, for which detestable fact she was deprived of her crown."¹ Whether Gray ventured to deliver this singular message we are not informed; but whether or not, the king remained for the present steadfast in his opposition to the proceedings about to be taken against his mother.

On the 6th of October, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Mr Barker, a notary, demanded an

land will quake for fear."—Randolph to Archibald Douglas, 5th August; Murdin, 558.

¹ Papers relating to the Master of Gray, p. 110.

interview with the Queen of Scots, and presented to her a letter from Elizabeth. It stated briefly that Mary's practices had been discovered, and that certain of the chief nobles of the realm had been appointed to inquire into the very serious charges brought against her; that, living as she did under the protection of the laws of England, she was subject to those laws, and was therefore required to make answer to the commissioners specially appointed to hear the cause.

After hearing the letter read, Mary said that she was very sorry that the queen her good sister had thought fit to refuse all the offers made on her behalf. She had made every concession which in reason could be demanded of her; but she was well aware that she had many enemies in England, and that, whatever attempts were made, either by foreign princes or disaffected subjects, against the peace of the realm, would be laid to her charge. As to any plot against her majesty's person she was wholly innocent, and she challenged her accusers to prove that either by word or deed she had ever sanctioned any such attempt. As to the tone of her majesty's letter, she thought it very strange that she should address her in the language of command, as if she was a subject, and not a sovereign like herself. She would never, she added, "prejudice her rank and state, nor the blood whereof she was descended, nor her son who was to follow her," by consenting to answer as a subject of the Queen of England. She added that she had been deprived of all her papers, that she was ignorant of the laws and statutes of the realm, that she was wholly destitute of counsel, and that no man dared to

open his mouth on her behalf. Declining the jurisdiction of the Queen of England, she was willing to refer to foreign princes all matters of controversy between them.¹

In the afternoon of the same day Paulet and Mildmay again repaired to her, and having read over her answer, inquired whether they had correctly set down her meaning. She replied in the affirmative, but added that she had omitted in the morning to notice one point of Elizabeth's letter—namely, that having enjoyed the protection of her laws, she was therefore subject to be tried by them. In answer to this, she desired to remind her sister queen that she had come to England of her own free will, and had ever since been treated as a prisoner, so that she “had enjoyed no protection of the laws of this land.” And she desired that this should be added to her former answer.²

Lord Burghley and his brother commissioners, who arrived a few days afterwards at Fotheringay, were seriously perplexed by the attitude assumed by the Scottish queen. The most astute diplomatists and lawyers in Europe could not have furnished a better answer to the letter of Elizabeth than did this utterly friendless woman. To decline the jurisdiction of the commissioners was obviously her best course; and if she had adhered to it, they must either have abandoned their task altogether, or have pronounced judgment against her in her absence—a proceeding which, even in that day, would have been viewed with general dissatisfaction. Seriously alarmed at either prospect, Burghley, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor

¹ See her answer in Labanoff, vii. 36.

² Ibid., 39.

Bromley, repaired on the 13th of October to Mary's apartments, and exerted all his skill in seeking to persuade her to appear. He assured her, but without giving any authority for the assertion, that neither by the common, the civil, nor the canon law, could her objections to the competency of the commissioners be sustained; and he informed her, in conclusion, that if she persisted in her refusal to appear, they would, without further delay, proceed to trial in her absence.

Burghley ought by this time to have known Mary better than to have sought to gain his point by resorting to a threat. This coarse expedient, instead of frightening her into compliance, only drew from her an answer more peremptory and defiant than that which she had given to Paulet and Mildmay. She told the lord treasurer that she would rather die than acknowledge herself a subject, and that there was but one tribunal in England to which she was willing to submit herself, and that was a full and free Parliament. As for this commission, she knew not how it was composed. She knew not how far its members had bound themselves to find her guilty of the charges laid against her, and whether their meeting now was but an empty form. Perchance she was condemned already by those who had to try her; but she would have them "to look into their consciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was wider than the realm of England."¹

Burghley had sought to intimidate his victim, but she defied him; and perceiving his mistake, he forth-

¹ State Trials, i. 1170.

with changed his tone, and said he would address her, not as a commissioner, but as a confidential counsellor of his mistress. She, at least, had ever treated her with extraordinary favour, and had even punished certain persons who had questioned her right to the succession. Mary replied that she did not acknowledge such acts as favours; but after some further discussion, she finally consented to receive from Burghley a copy of the commission and a list of the commissioners, and promised that he and his colleagues should have a speedy and definite reply.¹

As it was of the utmost consequence that she should be induced to appear, Sir Christopher Hatton, who was a member of the commission, was deputed to make a final attempt to overcome her scruples; and the supple courtier proved more successful than the old lord treasurer, who had overacted his part in his eager haste to secure his prey. "You are accused," said Hatton, "but not condemned. You say you are a queen; be it so. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. To examine into the matter, Queen Elizabeth hath appointed for commissioners most honourable, prudent, and upright men, who are ready to hear you, according to equity, with favour, and will rejoice with all their hearts if you shall clear yourself of this crime. Believe me, the queen herself will be much affected with joy, who affirmed unto me, at my coming from her, that never anything befell her more grievous than that you were charged with such a crime. Wherefore lay aside the bootless privilege of royal dignity; appear before your judges, and satisfy them of your innocence. If, on the

¹ State Trials, i. 1171.

other hand, you avoid a trial, you will lay an eternal blot upon your reputation."

Mary was more impressed by the plausible but deceptive arguments of Hatton than by the menaces of Burghley. But, as the next heir of the crown, she said she was only willing to appear before the "Estates of the realm, lawfully assembled," or before the queen in Council. "To the judgment of mine adversaries," she added, "amongst whom I know all defence of my innocence will be barred, flatly, I will not submit myself."

The lord chancellor, perceiving that unless some concession were made Mary would not yield, here interposed, and asked whether she would consent to appear if her protest against their jurisdiction were admitted. She said it appeared that their commission had been issued under the recent Act, which, as it had been passed solely with the object of rendering her amenable to the laws of England, she could in no way recognise. But on further consideration—and being much impressed, it is said, by the reasoning of Hatton—she finally consented to appear, on condition that her objection to the competency of the tribunal was recorded.

It must be admitted that this is a circumstance which weighs strongly in her favour. She was well aware that her correspondence had been intercepted, and if she had expressed a written approval of Babington's plot against Elizabeth, she must have justly dreaded the production of her letters. She would naturally, in such a case, have stood resolutely upon her privilege, and refused to appear. But if, as she again and again asserted, she had written to Babington

and to others only on the subject of her escape from confinement, the arguments of Hatton were calculated to produce a strong effect upon her mind, and even to inspire her with the hope that she might be able to satisfy at least some of the judges of her innocence.¹

The commissioners assembled next morning, which was the 14th of October, in the great hall of the castle. At the upper end was placed a chair of state for the Queen of England. Opposite it, about the middle of the hall, stood a chair for the Queen of Scots. The commissioners were ranged on benches along the wall on either side; the earls on the right and the barons on the left. Of the former there were present the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincoln, and Viscount Montacute, and with them sat the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer. On the other side were the Barons of Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Sturton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St John, Compton, and Cheyney. At some little distance from them sat the knights of the Privy Council—namely, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler,

¹ Elizabeth had been informed of the refusal of Mary to appear, in consequence of which she addressed to her the following characteristic letter:—

“You have in various ways attempted to deprive me of my life, and to bring ruin on my kingdom by shedding of blood. I have never proceeded so hardly against you, but on the contrary have cherished and preserved you as faithfully as if you were my own self. Your treasons will be proved and made manifest to you in that place where you now are. For this reason, it is our pleasure that you answer to the nobility and barons of my kingdom as you would do to myself were I there in person; and as my last injunction, I charge and command you to reply to them. *I have heard of your arrogance; but act candidly, and you may meet with more favour.*”—Life of Thomas Egerton, 86.

Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amias Paulet. In front of the earls were the two chief-justices and the chief-baron of the Exchequer; and opposite them were four of their colleagues and two doctors of the civil law. The Crown was represented by the Attorney-General Popham, the Solicitor-General Egerton, and Gawdy, the queen's sergeant. And all these peers and judges and ministers of state had met together to hunt to death a helpless woman, who, by the invitation of their queen, had sought a refuge in her dominions. She was lame from rheumatism at the time, and appeared before them dressed in black, and leaning on the arm of her master of the household, Sir Andrew Melvill. "So many counsellors," she said, glancing at the formidable array before her as she entered the hall, "and not one for me."¹

As soon as she had taken the seat prepared for her, the lord chancellor opened the proceedings by informing her that the Queen of England had heard with great grief that she had conspired against her life, and against the religion established in the realm; and it was the duty of the commissioners now present to inquire whether or not she was guilty of these serious crimes.

Mary then, rising from her seat, said she had come to England to seek the assistance of their queen, "which had been promised her," but that she had been made a prisoner on her arrival, and had been kept in prison ever since. She denied that the Queen of England had any jurisdiction over her, and she was

¹ "Voyant tous ces seigneurs et parmi eux force gens de justice, dit, 'Qu'il y avoit la beaucoup de gens de conseil, mais qu'il n'y en avoit pas un pour elle.'"—Letter of Chateaucneuf of 20th October; Cheruel, 151.

only induced to appear that she might have an opportunity of refuting the unfounded charges made against her.

After some further discussion with the lord chancellor as to the effect of her protestation, the queen's sergeant, Gawdy, proceeded to address the commissioners on behalf of the Crown. He recounted at length the history of the Babington conspiracy, and laid before them the three letters to which we have already referred—namely, the letter of the Queen of Scots to Babington of the 25th of June, his long letter to her without date, and her reply of the 17th of July. Upon these three letters, as has been already stated, the charge against her entirely depended.

During the reading of Babington's letter to her, when mention was made of the Earl of Arundel, who was still a prisoner in the Tower, she was moved to tears, and exclaimed aloud, "Alas! what bath that noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!" Then resuming her self-possession, she said it was not likely that she should rely on the aid either of Arundel, who was in prison, or of Northumberland, who was an entire stranger to her, and but a youth.

Gawdy next proceeded to read her long letter to Babington of the 17th of July, upon which the case against her virtually depended. But in the words of the record, she "denied that she had ever received any such letter from him, or that she wrote any such letter to him, or that she was privy to his conspiracies, or that she did ever practise, compass, imagine, or was privy of, anything to the destruction of her majesty, or to the hurt of her person, confessing, nevertheless, that she had used Babington as an intelligencer for

her, and for the conveying of letters and packets; and she added, further, that she was not to be charged but by her word, or by her writing, and she was sure they had neither the one nor the other to lay against her.”¹ Turning then to Walsingham, she observed that it was an easy matter to counterfeit ciphers, and she much feared that he had had recourse to this device, for she had reason to believe that he had conspired as well against her life as against that of her son.

It was impossible that Walsingham could remain silent under an imputation so terrible, and made in such a place. He rose from his seat, and called God to witness that in his private capacity he had done nothing unbecoming an honest man, and as a minister “he had done nothing unworthy of his place.” The explanation, apparently so ample and sincere, was wholly unsatisfactory; for we know that Walsingham did not deem it “unworthy of his place” to conspire against the life of Esmé Stewart, as well as against that of the Earl of Arran; and we know that he subsequently approved of the project of putting Mary privately to death.

She was impressed, however, with the apparent earnestness of his denial, and begged he would forgive her if she had accused him wrongfully. She had only

¹ Hardwicke State Papers, i. 224 *et seq.* It is instructive to observe how systematically everything Mary said and did was misrepresented. When she declared that she had received no “such” letter from Babington, and had written no “such” letter to him, she clearly meant that both had been tampered with. But if we turn to the report of the trial by Lord Burghley’s notaries, we find her declaring that “she knew not Babington, that she never received *any letters from him, nor wrote any to him.*”—State Trials, i. 1174. Can we believe that Mary said anything so absurd when she knew that her letters had been intercepted and her papers seized?

repeated in his presence what others had often reported of him behind his back. The queen's sergeant next proceeded to advert to a letter of Charles Paget on the subject of the invasion. But Mary promptly observed that this correspondence "was nothing to the purpose." She was charged with conspiring against the queen's life, not of seeking to recover her liberty by means of foreign aid.

Certain alleged confessions of Babington, and of her secretaries Nau and Curle, were next read ; but of these not even copies have been preserved. It has been already stated that the only genuine confession of Babington now extant is wholly silent as regards the complicity of the Scottish queen. As to her secretaries, she insisted that they should be produced before her face to face. "I delivered nothing to them," she added, "but what nature delivered to me, that I might at length recover my liberty. I am not to be convicted but by mine own word and writing. If they have written anything which may be hurtful to the queen my sister, they have written it altogether without my knowledge, and let them bear the punishment. Sure I am, if they were here present, they would clear me of all blame in this cause." She concluded by again demanding that the notes of her letters in her own handwriting should be produced in proof of what she had alleged.¹

To these most reasonable demands no answer was returned. Mary was not aware that, by an Act passed fifteen years before, witnesses in trials for high treason were required to be confronted with the accused ;² and not one of her six-and-thirty judges was man

¹ State Trials, i. 1183.

² Stat. I. 13 Eliz.

enough to inform her of this important fact. All remained deaf to her appeals. Her secretaries were not examined; her notes were not produced. It was afterwards stated, in the Star Chamber, that these notes had been destroyed by her orders.¹ But in her presence no one ventured to make any such assertion.

Nothing, indeed, could have been more utterly worthless than the evidence produced against her. The letters were alleged to be copies of ciphers; but by whom the ciphers were deciphered, and by whom the copies were made, the commissioners were not informed, nor did they ask a question on the subject. Mary's secretaries might have been produced to identify the letter which Babington wrote to her, and Philipps could have been called to state whether the copy of Mary's letter produced was a true copy of the cipher sent by her. But her secretaries were kept close prisoners in London; and the name of Philipps, for obvious reasons, was not once mentioned throughout the trial. Lastly, her own notes or heads of her letter to Babington, to which she confidently appealed, were withheld from the commissioners, although these notes would have afforded conclusive proof of her innocence or guilt.

Mary's friends had asked for an advocate to plead her cause, but she required none. The defects she had herself so eloquently exposed in the case presented by her accusers, were absolutely fatal. The Crown

¹ Without any possibility of communicating with Nau, Mary here corroborated his statement that her notes were extant, and in the hands of Walsingham. The probability is, that they were destroyed by him or by Philipps when it was found that they contained no criminating matter against Mary.

counsel had not a word to say in reply ; but Lord Burghley came to the rescue by suddenly changing the point of attack, and charging her with an intent to send her son to Spain, and to make over to Philip her pretended right to the English crown. Mary replied that she had no kingdom to convey, but that it was lawful for her to give away whatever things belonged to her, in which case she was accountable to no one. Burghley, still avoiding the real and only charge against her, next went back to the conspiracy of Parry, who, he alleged, had been instigated by Morgan to murder Elizabeth ; and it was well known that Morgan was in the service of Mary, and received a pension from her. To this she replied that she only knew that Morgan had lost all for her sake, and she was bound in honour to relieve him. She further reminded the lord treasurer that pensions had been granted by his mistress to the Master of Gray and her other enemies in Scotland, and also to her son to induce him to abandon her.

Certain letters from Charles Paget and Mendoza were then read. Mary observed with truth that they did not touch the matter in question, for they contained nothing relating to the plot against the queen ; and if foreign princes laboured to set her free, it was not to be laid to her charge, for, being detained a prisoner against all law and reason, she had frequently signified to Elizabeth that she would accept such aid.

With this reply of the Scottish queen terminated the first day's proceedings at Fotheringay ; and it cannot be denied that, even according to their own account, and we have no other, she had maintained throughout a decisive superiority over her opponents. Without counsel or witnesses or papers, and armed

with nothing but her own clear intellect and heroic spirit, she had answered, point by point, all their allegations. Knowing the weakness of their proofs, they had artfully mixed up the charge of conspiracy with the scheme of invasion; and Burghley, taking upon himself the functions of Crown prosecutor, had sought to draw her attention from the main question in dispute by dwelling on a variety of topics, which were only intended to bewilder and confuse her. But apparently perceiving his design, she brought him back again and again to the real point at issue between them; while to her repeated demands that her secretaries should be confronted with her, and that her papers should be produced, he carefully avoided a reply.

On the following day it is worthy of note that neither the attorney nor the solicitor general, nor the queen's sergeant, took any part in the proceedings. Whether he was dissatisfied with the mode in which they had conducted the case, or whether he was desirous of displaying at once his erudition and his animosity against the Scottish queen, Burghley took upon himself the entire management of the trial. Such conduct on the part of a judge was neither dignified nor decent, nor do we find in any other of the State Trials of this reign so marked a departure from established usage.

When the commissioners met, Mary first demanded and received a copy of her protestation against the legality of their proceedings. She then declared that, although she had made every concession to Elizabeth that could in reason be desired, her proposals had been invariably disregarded, even although she had offered

her son, and the son of the Duke of Guise, as hostages for their due performance. She was now arraigned before a foreign tribunal, and accused by foreign lawyers, with no other purpose than that her lawful title to the English crown should be defeated. She reminded her judges that their mistress had been accused, and unjustly accused, of complicity in Wyatt's rebellion, and she was no more guilty of conspiring against Elizabeth than Elizabeth was of conspiring against her sister. She did, indeed, most earnestly desire to relieve the Catholics from the grievous persecutions which they now endured; but she would rather have recourse to the prayers of Hester than to the sword of Judith, and would trust to the mercy of God rather than deprive of life the meanest of the people. She concluded by demanding that there should be another hearing, and that, as she was unacquainted with the laws of England, she should be allowed an advocate to plead her cause, or that, being a queen, she might be believed on the word of a queen. She saw most plainly that her judges were filled with prejudice against her, and it would be the extreme of folly and injustice, as the case now stood, to proceed to judgment. "I came to England," she continued, "relying upon the friendship and the promises of your queen. Look here, my lords," she exclaimed, drawing a ring from her finger, "at this pledge of love and protection which I received from your mistress. Regard it well. Trusting to this pledge I came amongst you. You all know how it has been kept."¹ This was no doubt the ring which Elizabeth had sent to Mary

¹ Courcell's *Negotiations*, 18; Bannatyne Club edition. This incident is not mentioned in Burghley's report of the trial.

when she was a prisoner at Lochleven, and to which reference has been already made.¹

Burghley in reply could only recapitulate in his own laborious fashion the evidence that had already been laid before the commissioners. Mary occasionally interrupted him by demanding that her papers should be restored to her, and that her secretaries should be examined in her presence. No one else interfered in the proceedings. The solicitor-general did venture to make one remark² towards the close of the day, but he was promptly silenced by Burghley, who, in his triple capacity of Crown prosecutor, judge, and minister of state, had acquitted himself to his own entire satisfaction. It may perhaps be taken as a proof of his declining powers that he had even the vanity to boast of the skill and success with which he had encountered and defeated the "Queen of the Castle," as he facetiously termed the woman against whose life and reputation he had plotted incessantly for more than twenty years. "I did so encounter her," he said, "with reasons out of my knowledge and experience, as she had not that advantage that she looked for,"³ &c. We have only to regret that in his anxiety to preserve, for the benefit of posterity, these specimens of his oratory, he should have deemed his adversary unworthy of the like attention. But he reports his own speeches at full length in *the first person*;

¹ See *ante*, p. 251.

² He reminded the commissioners of the consequences that would result from the conveyance of the kingdom to a foreign prince. "But the lord treasurer showed that the kingdom of England could not be conveyed, but was to descend by right of succession, according to the laws."—State Trials, 1188.

³ Burghley to Davison, 15th October; Caligula, c. ix. f. 433.

while those of Mary, being no doubt in his eyes comparatively unimportant, are given in the *third*. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that we have but an imperfect account of what she said before her judges, and that some material portions of her defence may have been omitted.

"Judgment will be given at our next meeting,"¹ Burghley wrote in triumph to Davison on the conclusion of the proceedings at Fotheringay. He could no doubt have persuaded the commissioners to pronounce sentence on the spot; but irresolute to the last, Elizabeth commanded an adjournment to the Star Chamber, a fit place for the consummation of the work they had in hand. The hesitation of the queen to consent to her cousin's death was regarded by Walsingham as a special mark of the divine wrath. To such outrageous conclusions will even the ablest men come when heated by religious and political antipathies. It was to Leicester that this pious sentiment was addressed, and it very probably hastened his departure from the Netherlands.²

On the 25th of October the commissioners again met in the Star Chamber at Westminster, and according to the very meagre report of the proceedings, Mary's two secretaries, Nau and Curle, were on this occasion both produced. No question appears to have been put to them by any one, but they are merely said to have affirmed upon oath certain declarations and confessions, of which neither the originals nor even the copies have been preserved. The only additional piece of evidence produced in the Star Chamber was

¹ Burghley to Davison, 15th October; Caligula, c. ix. f. 433.

² Leicester arrived in England in the last week of November.

an alleged declaration of Curle "that as well the letter which Babington did write to the Scots queen, as the draughts of her answer to the same, were both burned at her command." But it is obvious that a statement of such importance, if true, ought to have been made, and certainly would have been made, in the presence of the accused; it is equally obvious that, if false, it could only have been safely made behind her back, when there was no possibility of contradiction.

The commissioners, with one exception, found Mary guilty, not of the various matters laid to her charge by Lord Burghley, but of having compassed and imagined, since the 1st of June aforesaid, divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Queen of England. Lord Zouch alone had the spirit to dissent from the sentence, declaring that he was not satisfied that "she had compassed, practised, or imagined" the death of the Queen of England. The commissioners further added to their sentence the following politic declaration: "That the said sentence did derogate nothing from James King of Scots in title or honour, but that he was the same in place, degree, and right as if the same sentence had never been pronounced."

Thus ended the most disgraceful of all the judicial iniquities which disgrace the history of England. In every other trial of any person of distinction during the long reign of Elizabeth, at least some witnesses were examined in open court. In this alone, the most important of all, not a single witness was produced. To arraign the accused at Fotheringay in the absence of the witnesses, and to produce the witnesses at Westminster in the absence of the accused, was a

mockery of justice unexampled even in this sanguinary age. And this was not the only iniquity committed on the trial of Mary Stewart. Of the various documents produced against her not one was original. They were not even copies of written papers. They were only alleged to be copies of ciphers on the credit of men who were not confronted with the accused, and whose signatures, attached to their alleged confessions, were either obtained through fear of torture or forged by Philipps. To attach the smallest credit to any such documents would be to disregard the plainest rules of evidence recognised by all civilised communities for the discovery of truth.

A few days after the proceedings in the Star Chamber a Parliament was held at Westminster, and both Houses adopted an address to Elizabeth praying that the sentence might be forthwith executed against the Queen of Scots. "We cannot find," they said, "that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety but by the just and speedy execution of the said queen, the neglecting whereof may procure the heavy displeasure and punishment of Almighty God, as by sundry severe examples of His great justice in that behalf left us in the sacred Scriptures doth appear," &c. To this address Elizabeth made a very able and a very artful reply. "Though my life," she said, "hath been dangerously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more grieved me than that one not differing from me in sex, of like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly allied to me in blood, hath fallen into so great a crime; and," she continued, "even yet, though the matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent, and no man would undertake her

cause against me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of my whole people, I would, I protest unfeignedly, most willingly pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death attain a more flourishing estate and a better prince, I would most gladly lay down my life; for for your sakes it is, and for my people's, that I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great cause why I should either be fond to live or fear to die," &c. After continuing for some time in the same strain, she suddenly changed her tone. "I will now tell you a secret," she said, "though it is well known that I have the property to keep counsel. It is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month; hereby I see your danger in me, which I will be very careful to avoid." She then concluded by informing them that as the matter now in hand was very rare, and of the greatest consequence, they must not look for any present decision, for they knew it was her custom to deliberate long, even in matters that were unimportant as compared with this.

Her words were well calculated to produce the effect which she no doubt desired. While expressing the utmost reluctance to proceed to extremities against her kinswoman, she took care, by artfully alluding to the existence of fresh plots, of which beyond her own assertion we have no proof, to keep alive the spirit of fanatical hostility against the Queen of Scots by which she well knew both Houses were animated.

After a delay of twelve days she sent a message to both Houses, in which she desired them to reconsider afresh the whole matter, "and to devise some better

remedy, whereby both the Queen of Scots' life might be spared and her own security provided for." After earnest consultation, both Houses again declared that the death of the Queen of Scots was essential to the security of the realm. They relied chiefly, as they had done on a former occasion, on the examples furnished by the Old Testament. They reminded their mistress how Saul incurred God's vengeance for sparing Agag, and how those magistrates were commended for putting Jezebel to death. As to the ties of blood, they reminded her of the wisdom of Solomon, who had not spared his own brother when under suspicion of treason. "Therefore we pray you," they continued, "for the cause of God, His Church, this realm, ourselves, and yourself, that you will no longer be careless of your life or sovereign safety, nor longer suffer religion to be threatened, the realm to stand in danger, nor us to dwell in fear."

The reply of Elizabeth to this appeal was as follows : "I pray you for the present to content yourselves with an answer without answer. Your judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your reasons, but pray you to accept my thankfulness ; excuse my doubtfulness, and take in good part my answer, answerless. If I should say I would not do what you request, I might say perhaps more than I think ; and if I should say I would do it, I might plunge myself into peril, whom you labour to preserve, which in your wisdom and discretion ye would not that I should, if ye consider the circumstances of place, time, and the manners and conditions of men."¹ We may probably conclude, not from these ambiguous sentences, but from her

¹ State Trials, i. 1201.

subsequent conduct, that Elizabeth had by this time made up her mind to take her cousin's life ; but as to the mode, the place, and the time, she was still undetermined. Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the Council, meanwhile proceeded to Fotheringay to announce to Mary that sentence of death had been pronounced against her in the Star Chamber. But in communicating to her the not unlooked-for intelligence, Buckhurst and Beale were indiscreet enough to let out the true cause of her condemnation by informing her that, "as long as she lived, the received religion in England could not subsist." This admission seems to have given Mary much satisfaction, for their report states that "she seemed with a certain unwonted alacrity to triumph, giving God thanks, and rejoicing in her heart that she was held to be an instrument for the re-establishing of religion in this island."¹ She earnestly desired, as she was about to die, that her almoner, who was an inmate of the castle, but whom she had not been permitted to see since her papers were seized at Chartley, might be allowed to visit her. But this request was refused, with an intimation that she might avail herself of the services of the bishop of the diocese, or the Dean of Peterborough, an offer which Mary peremptorily declined. After some further discourse, in which Mary observed that the English nation² had never been remarkable for humanity, Elizabeth's envoys took their leave.

Mary now made her last requests to Elizabeth in the following terms :—

"Madam, I thank God with all my heart that it has pleased Him, through you, to put an end to the wear-

¹ State Trials, i. 1201.

² Ibid.

some pilgrimage of my life. I do not ask that it be prolonged, having had too much experience of its bitterness. I only entreat your majesty, since I can look for no favour at the hands of certain zealous ministers who hold the first place in the councils of England, that you yourself, and no other, will grant me the following requests.

"I ask, in the first place, as I cannot hope for a burial in England according to the Catholic rites practised under the ancient kings, your ancestors and mine, and as in Scotland the tombs of my progenitors have been violated, that as soon as my enemies shall have been satiated with my innocent blood, my remains may be carried by my servants to some consecrated ground, to be there interred; above all, I desire in France, where rest the ashes of my much-honoured mother. Thus at length may this poor body find the repose, which living it has never known.

"Secondly, I pray your majesty, from the fears with which I regard the men to whose tyranny you have abandoned me, that I may not be put to death in secret, but in the sight of my servants and others, who may be able to testify to my faith and obedience to the true Church, and defend my memory against the calumnies which my enemies may spread abroad concerning me.

"In the third place, I ask that my attendants, who have served me through all my miseries so faithfully and well, may be allowed to go freely where they please, and to retain the small legacies which my poverty has enabled me to bequeath to them.

"I conjure you, madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our relationship, by the memory of Henry VII.,

our common ancestor, and by the title of queen, which I bear with me to the death, not to refuse these most reasonable requests, and to assure me by a word in your own hand that you will do so. I shall then die as I have lived, your affectionate sister and prisoner."

It is probable that this letter was carried to London by Buckhurst and Beale, but it is doubtful whether Elizabeth ever received it. It is certain that she neither answered it nor complied with Mary's requests. Anticipating a speedy death, Mary now addressed a letter to the Duke of Guise. As she considered him, since the desertion of her son, her nearest kinsman, she probably expressed to him the true state of her feelings at this anxious time; and if so, it is very obvious that in her own belief she was about to die for her religion. As the whole letter is highly characteristic, it is given entire, as follows:—

"My good cousin, whom I esteem above all the world, I bid you farewell, being about to suffer death by an unjust sentence, and in a manner that has never fallen to the lot of any of our race, and still less to one of my rank; but, my good cousin, give thanks to the Almighty, for I was useless to the world and to the cause of God and His Church in the condition in which I lived, and I hope that my death will testify my constancy in the faith, and my readiness to die for the maintenance and the restoration of the Catholic Church in this unfortunate isle; and although our blood has never yet been soiled by the hands of the headsman, be not ashamed, my friend; for the judgment of heretics and enemies of the Church, who have no jurisdiction over me, an independent queen, is profitable before God to the children of the Church. If

I had embraced their religion, I should have avoided this blow. All our race have been persecuted by this sect—witness your good father, with whom I hope to be received in mercy by the just Judge. I recommend, therefore, to you my poor servants, the discharge of my debts, and that you would found an annual mass for my soul, not at your own cost, but make the requisite arrangements, and you shall hear further as to my intentions from my poor desolate attendants, who will witness the last act of the approaching tragedy.

“May God prosper you, and your wife and children, your brothers and cousins, and above all our chief,¹ my good brother and cousin, and all that belongs to him; I would recommend your children to the blessing of God as I would my own, cruelly abused by fortune though I have been.²

“You will receive tokens from me to remind you when to offer up prayers for the soul of your poor cousin, deprived of all aid and counsel but that of God, who gives me force and courage to defy alone the wolves that are howling for my blood—the glory be to Him!

“Give credit in particular to one who will deliver to you a ruby ring from me; you may rely on all he tells you, especially as regards my poor servants, and the condition and character of each. I recommend this person to you for his sterling sincerity and honesty, which well entitle him to some place of trust. I have chosen him as one upon whom I can rely for faithfully executing my commands. I pray you let it not be

¹ The Duke of Lorraine.

² This allusion to her son shows that, with the prospect of a speedy death, she had forgiven his cruel desertion of her.

known that I have written to you on his behalf, as in that case the envy of some might do him harm.

"I have suffered much these last two years and more, but God be praised for all! May He give you grace to persevere in the service of the Church so long as you have life; and never may this honour depart from our house, of which the men as well as women have been ever prompt to shed their blood in the quarrel of the faith, all worldly considerations cast aside. For myself, I am bound both on my father's and my mother's side to sacrifice my life in this behalf, and I will not disgrace the parentage whence I have sprung. May Jesus crucified for us, and all the holy martyrs, render us through their intercession worthy of the sacrifice!

"From Fotheringay, this Tuesday, 24th November.— They have removed my 'dais,' intending thereby to humiliate me; and my keeper has informed me that this has not been done by the orders of their queen, but by the advice of certain of her Council. I replied, instead of replacing my arms, by putting up the Cross of my Redeemer. You shall hear all that passed. They have been more amiable since.— Your affectionate cousin and most sincere friend."

In another letter, written on the same day, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, she explained the manner in which her "dais," or cloth of state, had been removed. Sir Amias Paulet, accompanied by Sir Drue Drury,¹ who had been appointed to assist him in the performance of his duties, entered her apartments, and informed her that as she had been found guilty of

¹ Sir Drue Drury arrived at Fotheringay on the 13th November.— Labanoff, vi. 443.

treason, she was now dead in point of law, and was no longer to be treated as a queen. She replied that she was indebted for her rank to God alone, and that He alone could deprive her of it. Paulet then called in his servants and desired them to remove the cloth of state; and as soon as his orders had been obeyed, he sat down in the presence of his prisoner and put on his hat. Then pointing to a billiard-table which stood in the room, he said she ought no longer to indulge in such vain pastimes, and ordered his attendants to take it away. The ruffianly behaviour of Paulet upon this occasion was so much in keeping with his general character and conduct, that Mary seems to have been in no way surprised. She only remarked, on the removal of the billiard-table, that she had for the present abundance of other occupations.¹

She expressed to the archbishop her firm belief that she was about to die for her religion; and she added with a touch of bitterness, of which we find few traces in her letters, that if for the repose of the kingdom the people of England thought it necessary to take her life, they were welcome to it in return for the twenty years' imprisonment to which they had condemned her. In a postscript she informed him, further, that in seeking to justify the sentence that had been passed upon her, it was now given out that she had put herself under the protection of Elizabeth from necessity and not from choice, and that she was on that account amenable to the laws of England. To refute this fresh calumny, she desired Beaton to obtain from the Laird of Lochinvar, and from the heirs of Lord Herries and of the Archbishop of St Andrews, a de-

¹ Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow; Labanoff, vi. 466.

claration which they had signed expressly stating that she was about to proceed to England upon her own responsibility, and against their wishes and advice. These papers appear to be no longer extant; but there can be no doubt that what she here stated was strictly true, and that, relying upon the promises of Elizabeth, she repaired to England in opposition to the advice of her best friends.¹

On the same day Mary wrote farewell letters to the Pope² and to Mendoza;³ and she was afterwards allowed an interview with her almoner, Le Preau, an indulgence which she probably owed to the intervention of Buckhurst and Beale. She took the opportunity of placing in the hands of her spiritual attendant the letters which she had written to her friends, but which do not appear to have reached them until after her death.

There can be no doubt that Mary wrote these letters in the belief that the sentence pronounced against her would be executed without delay. But many weeks had yet to elapse before Elizabeth could make up her mind to that irrevocable step. In the mean time she gave orders that Mary should be allowed to avail herself of the services of her almoner; and she also desired Paulet to return to her a portion of her money, which had been seized at Chartley, with an assurance that the whole should be restored.⁴ Mary replied in very grateful terms, and sent her a ring in

¹ *Ante*, vol. i. 382.

² Sextus Quintus.—Labanoff, vi. 447.

³ Labanoff, vi. 457. From a note on the margin, it appears that Mendoza did not receive this letter until the 15th October 1587; Labanoff, 461.

⁴ Whether Elizabeth kept her promise we do not know.—See Mary to Elizabeth; Labanoff, vi. 475.

acknowledgment of these unlooked-for favours. She also desired permission to send a jewel to her son, with her last farewell and her last blessing, and concluded by earnestly repeating the requests she had made in her former letter regarding her death and burial. Elizabeth was moved to tears¹ by this appeal, the last that Mary ever made to her; but no answer was returned, and no attention was paid to her requests.

The critical situation of Mary was now well known in Paris and Madrid; but Philip, being at open war with Elizabeth, could take no steps in her behalf. The Kings of Scotland and of France, however, protested energetically against the execution of the sentence which had been passed upon her. Archibald Douglas was at this time the representative of James in London, and he received instructions to remonstrate with Elizabeth on the subject; but it was strongly suspected that a man who had been one of the murderers of the king's father would not prove a very zealous advocate in the cause of the mother.²

From France, in consequence apparently of the exertions of Chateauneuf, a special envoy arrived in London on the 21st November. The person selected by Henry to intercede for the life of his sister-in-law was M. de Bellièvre, afterwards Chancellor of France. He entreated Elizabeth to grant him an immediate audience; but it was rumoured on his arrival that some of his

¹ "There is a letter from the Scottish queen that hath wrought tears, but I trust shall do no further harm, albeit the delay is too dangerous."—Leicester to Walsingham; Ellis, iii. 22.

² "Archibald Douglas doth very ill offices in the name of his sovereign against the Scottish queen."—Courcelles' Negotiations, by the Bannatyne Club, p. 14.

suite were infected with the plague, and that other of his attendants had engaged to assassinate the English queen;¹ and under these absurd pretexts, which were wholly without foundation, she delayed granting his request until the 28th of November. On that day, accompanied by Chateauneuf, he repaired to Richmond, where Elizabeth received, with due formality, the two ambassadors. In a long and elaborate harangue, abounding with historical allusions and classical quotations, Bellièvre extolled the virtues of clemency and moderation, and strongly urged upon Elizabeth, upon political as well as moral grounds, the expediency of sparing her cousin's life.² Her reply to this appeal was brief, earnest, and even in parts pathetic. She assured the two ambassadors, and probably with truth, that no misfortune that had ever befallen her had caused her such deep affliction as this affair of the Queen of Scots.³ "But," she added, "I am surrounded by spies. I am a prisoner in my own kingdom. I always desired to live in peace, yet I am threatened with a host of enemies. I am but a poor weak woman, but I trust that God will preserve from danger me and my people, and all Christian princes." To the appeal of the French envoys she gave no distinct reply, but they appear to have understood from the language and bearing of Elizabeth that their intercession was hopeless. In private, Bellièvre was assured by Burghley,

¹ Egerton, 6.

² The speech of Bellièvre occupies thirteen pages of Teulet. — T. iv. 116.

³ "Jamais quelques afflictions et facheries que j'aye receues, comme de la mort du roy mon père, du roy mon frère, et de la royne ma sœur, ne m'ont tant touché au cœur comme le subject dont nous traictons," &c. — Teulet, iv. 129.

Walsingham, and Hatton, that their mistress might as well sign her own death-warrant as spare Mary's life, and that the sacrifice of one queen was essential to the security of the other. If they spoke truly, they had to thank their own diplomacy for this miserable result.

Another week elapsed, and Bellièvre was admitted to a second audience. The language of Elizabeth on this occasion was still less encouraging than during the former interview. She complained that the King of France had protected Morgan and Charles Paget, instead of delivering them up to be punished for their crimes. With respect to the Queen of Scots, she spoke more strongly than on the previous occasion. She said she had in vain sought some means by which her life might be preserved without danger to her own; and she added that she did not believe that the King of France could desire that the innocent should suffer while the guilty escaped.¹

To discourage further solicitations on the part of foreign Powers, an appeal was now made to the passions of the people. On the 6th of December the sentence against the Queen of Scots was publicly proclaimed by the civic authorities of London amidst the ringing of bells, the blazing of bonfires, and other demonstrations of fanatical enthusiasm. Upon witnessing this display, the French envoy was alarmed lest advantage would be taken of it to put the Queen of Scots immediately to death, and he besought Elizabeth that before the execution took place she would at least allow him time to communicate with his master. Elizabeth, unwilling to come to an open rupture with

¹ Life of Egerton, 91.

the French king, agreed to a delay of twelve days. In this interval, Henry desired Bellièvre to represent to Elizabeth, if all other arguments failed, that he should consider the execution of his sister-in-law as an offence against the acknowledged rights of sovereigns which he could never sanction. Elizabeth was spending her Christmas at Greenwich; and on the 27th December, Bellièvre was admitted to her presence for the last time. He commenced, as on the former occasion, by appealing to her humanity; but finding that he made no impression, he proceeded to deliver his master's message. Elizabeth was, or affected to be, highly indignant; and she asked whether he had the written instructions of Henry to hold such language to her. Bellièvre replied in the affirmative; whereupon she demanded a copy of his instructions, and after some further discourse, said she would send a special envoy to France, who would acquaint the king with her final resolution on the subject.¹

Embarrassed by the resolute attitude of the French king, Elizabeth and her ministers had now recourse to one of those disreputable devices with which the history of her reign abounds. On the day upon which Bellièvre quitted England, M. de Chateauneuf was accused of plotting against her life. The charge—which, it was afterwards acknowledged, was wholly without foundation—was made by a man of most dissolute character and habits, William Stafford, a brother of Elizabeth's ambassador in France.² It is difficult to believe that her ministers could have attached the smallest credit to the story; but we can readily believe that Stafford may have made the charge with their

¹ Life of Egerton, 101.

² Sir Edward Stafford.

connivance, or even at their instigation. As it was, they affected to treat the affair as one of great importance. The letters and despatches of Chateauneuf were intercepted, and one of his secretaries named Destrappes was arrested and sent to the Tower. The ambassador himself was summoned before the Council to answer for his share in the pretended plot, and Wade was sent on a special mission to Paris to explain the cause of these extraordinary proceedings. As no evidence could be produced against the French ambassador, no further steps were taken in the matter. But the object of Elizabeth and her ministers was gained. They completely paralysed for the time the efforts of Henry on behalf of his sister-in-law; and after she had been put to death, the most ample apologies were made to him and his ambassador, who were assured that the charges made by Stafford were unfounded, and that the whole affair had originated in a mistake.¹

In Scotland, the news that Mary had been condemned to death was received with deep and general indignation. The Reformed clergy alone regarded with satisfaction the approaching fate of their sovereign. Although commanded by the king, they obstinately refused to pray for her, and even threatened with the wrath of heaven those who obeyed the order.² To induce the king to leave his mother to

¹ Camden, 520; Murdin, 378, 583. "Avoient ces beaux conseillers d'Angleterre forgé, falsifié, et composé toutes telles escritures qu'ils avoient voulu sur ce faict par eux inventé et projectté. Car il faut noter que jamais n'e produisent *les memes pieces originaulx des procédures mais seulement des copies*," &c.—Régistre de Villeroy in Egerton.

² At this time James had desired Archbishop Adamson to offer up prayers for the queen; but on entering the High Church, where that prelate officiated, the king found to his astonishment that the pulpit was

her fate, Walsingham had sent him copies of her alleged correspondence with Babington, and also took care to remind him that she had made over to Philip her pretended right to the English crown. The French ambassador in Scotland, on the other hand, M. de Courcelles, did his utmost to persuade him to interfere energetically in her behalf. His efforts were warmly seconded by the chief of the nobility, who regarded as an unpardonable affront the conduct of Elizabeth in bringing their sovereign to trial before an English tribunal.¹ Angus, despite his Calvinistic prejudices, with Huntly, Bothwell, Herries, and Lord Claud Hamilton, all declared for open war rather than allow the sentence to be executed. James having asked the advice of Bothwell on the subject, that nobleman replied, "I think if your majesty allows the matter to proceed you should be hanged yourself the day after."² George Douglas, who was at the time in Scotland, also warmly advocated the cause of the sovereign for whom he had sacrificed so much; and in spite of the warnings of

occupied by a Presbyterian minister named Cowper. The king, addressing him from his seat, said that that place was intended for mother, but that if he would pray for the queen he might remain. Cowper answered that he would do as the Spirit of God directed him. Taking this reply as a refusal, James commanded him to leave the pulpit. Cowper refused to do so, upon which the king's attendants were about to eject him by force, when he descended, declaring that this hour would rise up in witness against the king in the great day of the Lord.—Tytler, 339.

¹ "Angus declared that he would plainly tell his sovereign, if he see him cold in his mother's cause, that he may do what he please, but that himself and the rest of the nobility will not endure that the Queen of England shall put her hands in his mother's blood, who could not be blamed if she had caused the Queen of England's throat to be cut for detaining her so long unjustly prisoner."—Courcelles to D'Esneval, 31st October, p. 13.

² Tytler, viii. 333.

Walsingham, James, after some hesitation, at length determined to make an energetic attempt to save his mother's life. He addressed a letter to Elizabeth couched in stronger language than he had ever before employed to the English queen, and he wrote to Walsingham, whom he regarded as the most active of his mother's enemies, in terms still more peremptory and menacing; and he despatched them by a special envoy, Sir William Keith, who fulfilled his mission with fidelity and zeal. But his remonstrances had no other effect than to throw Elizabeth into one of those paroxysms of passion which, whether they were genuine or counterfeited for the occasion, so often perplexed her ministers and frightened her attendants. She assailed Keith with a torrent of abuse, and she wrote to James complaining loudly of his audacity in venturing to intercede for his mother's life. She knew his mean and selfish nature, and her language had the desired effect. He wrote a letter of apology for the terms in which he had addressed her, and he committed it to the treacherous hands of the Master of Gray.¹ In selecting this man for such a mission, James virtually left his mother to her fate.

Before leaving Scotland, Gray had recommended that the unhappy queen, for whose life he was instructed to intercede, should be put to death by poison;² and Walsingham, to whom the advice was

¹ Tytler, viii. 336, who quotes James's apology from Warrender MSS.

² Courcelles to Henry III., 31st December; Egerton, 97. We have additional proof that Gray recommended the assassination of Mary; for shortly after her death he was accused of this specific crime and found guilty, "in especial that he wrote to England and found fault that they had not, in so long a time, found a means to cut off the king's mother privately."—Calderwood, iv. 613. This was in May 1587. His life was

given, if we may judge from his subsequent conduct, was not averse to this expedient. Gray was, in fact, most unwilling to undertake the duty now imposed upon him. Writing to Archibald Douglas, even before Mary's trial, he says, speaking of the position of the king, "this is a hard matter, to speak truly, to the king our sovereign, not to make any mediation for his mother; and yet the matter is also hard on the other side for you and me, for I know, as God liveth, *it shall be a staff for our own heads;*" and he adds, "if matters might stand well between the queen's majesty there (Elizabeth) and our sovereign, *I care not although she were out of the way.*"¹

On the 21st of October, Gray again wrote to his friend Douglas as follows: "The king is very instant for his mother, and minds to charge me with a commission to that effect, in case you prevail not; but I shall shift all till I hear from you. *For the commission for his mother, I like it not.*"² On the 9th of December, again writing to Douglas, after it had been determined to send him to England, he says: "As for this commission I am charged with, I cannot eschew it; but answer to the queen there (Elizabeth), and all my favourable friends, that they shall *find me always constant*, and that in my negotiations I shall *know nothing but for their contentments*. Of this assure them, and promise it in my name."³

spared through the intercession of Lord Claud Hamilton, but he was banished from Scotland.

¹ Lodge, ii. 289. The letter is dated 11th October.

² Ibid.

³ Lodge, ii. 294. It was originally intended that the Earl of Bothwell should have accompanied Gray and Melvill on their mission to Elizabeth; but Courcelles says that Bothwell was not sent, "by the drift, it was thought, of the Master of Gray and Archibald Douglas, knowing the said

Gray arrived in London in the beginning of January, accompanied by Sir Robert Melvill. That Melvill, like Keith, was zealous in the cause of the unhappy queen, there is no reason to doubt; but it is impossible to believe that James was at this time sincere in his efforts to save his mother when he employed for the purpose a man who, he knew, had betrayed her under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, and of whose unwillingness to undertake the task imposed upon him he could not have been ignorant. There was now, in fact, no real obstacle to the execution of Mary. The sanction of the English Parliament had been obtained, and the populace were clamorous for the blood of the Papist queen. No intervention was to be apprehended from foreign Powers, for with the King of Spain Elizabeth was actually at war; the King of France had been silenced by a trick, which, however despicable, answered the purpose for the time; and the King of Scots had sent an ambassador to London, ostensibly to intercede for his mother, but who in private urged Elizabeth, on every opportunity, to take her life. Although in two formal audiences, on the 6th and 10th of January, Gray remonstrated with Elizabeth according to the letter of his instructions, he was universally believed to have assured her that, although for the sake of appearances James had deemed it necessary to intercede for his

earl to be prompt and free of speech, and affectionate to the Queen of Scots, and such a one as would not, if he discovered any of the treacheries which were most suspected by him, conceal it."—Courcelles to the French king, 31st December; *Negotiations*, 22.

In another letter to the French king, Courcelles says, "Gray, who, in truth, with Archibald Douglas, may be said to have been the murderers of this poor princess"—p. 46.

mother, he was far less anxious to save her life than to secure the reversion of the English crown.

But there can be no doubt that, in spite of her lofty language to the ambassadors of Henry and James, Elizabeth regarded with terrible misgivings the catastrophe which her ministers, and especially Burghley, Walsingham, and Leicester, sought to persuade her was now inevitable. She could not but perceive that it must in any event be fraught with serious danger, and that even if the anticipations of her counsellors were realised, they would reap all the profit, while on her would rest all the infamy of the deed. We need not, therefore, be surprised that she spent a miserable winter, more miserable to all appearance than her victim, who, in the firm belief that she was about to die for her religion, awaited with perfect resignation the impending blow. Elizabeth meanwhile shunned all amusement, and spent her days and nights in gloomy silence, or in repeating certain phrases to herself which betrayed to her attendants the violence and depth of her emotions. She was often heard to say that "she must either strike or be struck down;"¹ while on every opportunity Gray would whisper in her ear, "The dead don't bite."² She succumbed at last to the intolerable conflict, and to the incessant efforts of Mary's enemies, and consented, at the instigation apparently both of Gray and Leicester, that she should be privately put to death.

Some time before—the date is not known—Elizabeth had addressed a letter to Sir Amias Paulet,³

¹ Camden, 534.

² "Mortui non mordent."—Camden.

³ This letter, a copy of which is preserved in the Record Office, was in

thanking him in glowing terms for his services in connection with the Babington conspiracy, and hinting obscurely that further demands were to be made upon his loyalty, for which he should receive some extraordinary reward. The mystery was explained in a letter which was addressed to him on the 1st of February by the two secretaries Walsingham and Davison. It was written on that day by the express desire of Elizabeth, after a conversation she had had with Davison, of which he has left us a full and highly interesting report.

Burghley had drawn up the warrant for Mary's execution as soon as sentence had been pronounced against her; but up to this time, under one pretext or another, Elizabeth had refused to sign it. On the morning of the 1st of February, while the Court was still at Greenwich, Davison received a message from the Lord High Admiral Howard, who informed him that he had just had an interview with the queen, and that she desired him to bring to her the warrant, that it might be signed and despatched without delay. Davison accordingly repaired to the palace with the

the following terms: "Amias, my most faithful servant, God reward thee treblefold in the double for thy most troublesome charge, so well discharged. If you knew, my Amias, how kindly, besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours and faithful actions, your wise orders and safe conduct performed in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travail and rejoice your heart, in that I cannot balance in any weight of my judgment the value that I prize you at, and suppose no treasure to countervail such a faith, and shall condemn myself in that fault which I never committed if I reward not such deserts. Yea, let me lack when I have most need if I acknowledge not such a merit with a reward, *non omnibus datum*," &c.—*Strype*, iii. 361. The letter is without date, but was probably written after the arrest of Mary's secretaries, and the seizure of her papers at Chertley.

warrant, which was in his possession, and with various other papers which required the signature of the queen. He was immediately received by Elizabeth, who, after inquiring after his health with unwonted graciousness of manner,¹ asked if the lord admiral had not desired him to bring her the warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots. Davison replied in the affirmative, and placed the paper before her, which, after reading over, she called for pen and ink and deliberately signed. She then asked Davison whether he was not heartily sorry to see it done. He replied that he was sorry for the misfortunes of any one, more especially of a princess so nearly allied to her majesty, but that he regarded her death as an act of justice and necessity. Elizabeth listened with a smiling countenance, and desired him to carry the warrant at once to the lord chancellor to have it sealed; and she added that this should be done as secretly as possible, as it might prove dangerous to herself if it were publicly known before the execution took place. She further desired him, on his way to the lord chancellor, to acquaint Walsingham, who was at his house in London, with what had been done, adding that she feared the news would kill him outright.² That Elizabeth should have discoursed with such unbecoming levity on the subject of Mary's death—and to the man, too, whose ruin she must by this time have deliberately planned—admits

¹ "Her highness first demanding of me whether I had been abroad that morning, advising me to use it oftener, and reprimanding me for the neglect thereof, with other like gracious speeches arguing care of my health," &c.—*Nicolas's Life of Davison*; Appendix, 234.

² "The grief thereof would go near (as she merrily said) to kill him outright."—*Life of W. Davison*, by Sir Harris Nicolas; Appendix 235.

of no excuse ; but we must not on that account conclude, as many have done, that she regarded the approaching fate of her cousin with cordial satisfaction. Notwithstanding the careless tone which she assumed in her dialogue with Davison, we have every reason to believe that she was still tortured with doubts and fears as to the consequences of the act to which she had at length assented.

As Davison was about to take his leave, she told him that she wished the execution to be performed as secretly as possible, and indicated the hall of the Castle of Fotheringay as the best place for the purpose. She then, after some slight hesitation, complained of the remissness of Sir Amias Paulet, who, she said, might have "eased her of this burden."¹ It was not yet too late, she significantly added ; and she desired that Davison and Walsingham should write immediately to Paulet and Drury, to sound them on the subject. Davison understood her meaning perfectly, for it appears she had thrown out similar hints before, and he at once informed her that he did not believe that Mary's keepers could be induced to put her to death without lawful warrant. But Elizabeth insisted that the attempt should be made ; and after consulting first with Burghley, and then with Walsingham, the following letter, composed by the secretary,² was sent off by a special messenger to Fotheringay :—

¹ Sir H. Nicolas's *Life of Davison* ; Appendix, 273.

² *Ibid.*, 274. Sir Harris Nicolas suspects that Walsingham stayed away from Court at this time under pretence of sickness, knowing that Elizabeth had now made up her mind to sacrifice the Queen of Scots, and believing that she would seek to throw the blame on some one of her ministers.

“TO SIR AMIAS PAULET.—After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately uttered by her majesty that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal of her service that she looked for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the life of that queen, considering the great peril she is subject unto hourly so long as the said queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth, especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your conscience towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of association which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly towards her, that men professing that love towards her that you do should in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon her, knowing as you do her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood, as the said queen is. These respects, we find, do greatly trouble her majesty, who, we assure you, has sundry times protested that if the regard of this danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these

speeches lately passed from her majesty, referring the same to your good judgments; and so we commend you to the protection of the Almighty.—Your most assured friends,

“FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

“WILLIAM DAVISON.

“*At London, Feb. 1, 1586-7.*”¹

This letter reached Fotheringay on the afternoon of the 2d of February, and Paulet returned an answer on the same day, in which he refused, in very emphatic terms, to comply with the injunctions of Elizabeth. He deeply regretted, he said, to have lived to see the day when he was required, by direction of his sovereign, “to do an act which God and the law forbade.” He added that he would “never make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot on his posterity, as to shed blood without law or warrant.” Paulet has been much praised by historians because he refused, at the bidding of Elizabeth and her secretaries, to assassinate his prisoner. His prudence was no doubt to be commended; for if he had fallen into the snare, we may conclude, from the subsequent treatment of Davison, that a similar, or perhaps a still worse, fate would have awaited him. His letter, which could not have been despatched until the night of the 2d, did not reach London till the 4th of February, and it was not communicated to Elizabeth until the following day, which was Sunday. She was extremely indignant at his refusal; and pacing uneasily about her room, gave vent to her rage and disappointment by assailing Paulet in the bitterest terms. He

¹ Nicolas's *Life of Davison*, 86.

was no longer her "loving Amias," but one of those "dainty and precise fellows" who would promise everything and perform nothing. Nay, more, he was a perjurer; for had he not subscribed the bond of association, by which he obliged himself, at the hazard of his life, to serve his queen? She further boasted to Davison that she could have done without him, and named one Wingfield, who, she said, was willing to do what she required.¹ Davison attempted to persuade her that it was much better that everything should be done according to law. She said there were wiser men than he of another opinion, alluding apparently to Leicester and Gray. She also, on another occasion, spoke, in the most eulogistic terms of Archibald Douglas; from which we may probably infer that he too was an advocate of the assassination scheme, which, owing to the obstinacy of Paulet, it was now necessary to abandon.

Burghley meanwhile had obtained possession of the warrant. It was duly signed by the queen and sealed with the Great Seal; yet he could not but remember that his mistress had twice signed and twice cancelled the warrant for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk. Burghley was also aware of her correspondence with Paulet, and that if he complied with her wishes no warrant would be required. But, like Davison, he must have anticipated a refusal on the part of Paulet, and this might induce the queen to change her mind. He accordingly determined to act as if no such correspondence had taken place. On Friday the 3d of February he summoned his colleagues together, and having laid before them the warrant for Mary's execu-

¹ Nicolas's *Life of Davison*, 276. Who Wingfield was does not appear.

tion, informed them that as their mistress had now done all that the law required, it was simply their duty to obey her orders without troubling her further in the matter. He likewise suggested that in an affair of such importance all the members of the Council should unite in sharing the responsibility of the act, in case any question should afterwards arise respecting it. Burghley's proposals received the unanimous assent of his colleagues, and it was determined that Beale, the clerk of the Council, should carry the warrant to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, who were appointed to see it executed.

On the next day after the arrival of Paulet's letter refusing to put Mary privately to death, Beale was accordingly sent off with the warrant to the residence of the Earl of Kent;¹ and on the day following, which was Sunday, he arrived at Fotheringay and communicated the grateful tidings to Paulet. Notice of the intended execution was now sent to Shrewsbury, who was residing in the neighbourhood, and whose office of earl marshal rendered him on the occasion the most fitting representative of the Crown; and on the morning of the 7th of February, the two noblemen arrived at Fotheringay. The frequent arrivals and departures during the few previous days had alarmed Mary's attendants, and the appearance of the two earls, each accompanied by a numerous retinue, confirmed their worst fears. Mary was suffering at the time from one of her periodical attacks of rheumatism, and was in

¹ The letter to the Earl of Kent was signed by Burghley and the Earls of Derby and Leicester, the lord admiral, Lords Hunsdon and Cobham, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Davison.—Nicolas's *Life of Davison*, 96.

bed when she received a message from Shrewsbury and Kent requesting an immediate audience. She rose and prepared to receive them; and anticipating the announcement they had to make, she desired her attendants to remain as witnesses of the interview. Shrewsbury and Kent then made their appearance, followed by the sheriff of the county and by Beale, who, by desire of the two earls, read aloud the commission issued by the Council for her execution. She listened with a tranquil countenance¹ until Beale had finished reading. She then declared that she was well content to leave a world where she was no longer of any use, and where she had suffered so much affliction. She had ever earnestly desired the love and friendship of the Queen of England. She had warned her of coming dangers, and had long cherished the wish that she might for once meet her in person and speak with her in confidence, being well assured that had such a meeting taken place there would have been an end of all jealousies between them. But they had been kept asunder by the enemies of both, who by their perverse policy had endangered her sister's crown, and had imprisoned and cruelly slandered, and were now about to murder her. But she knew in truth that she was about to die for her religion, and this was an ample recompense for all her sufferings. "As for the crime with which I am charged," she continued, laying

¹ Mr Froude (xii. 331) says that Mary was "dreadfully agitated" at the intelligence, on the authority of a paper in Teulet (iv. 154) which says, "*La Royne d'Ecosse fut faschée et déplaisanté de ces nouvelles,*" &c. But Jebb, Egerton, Camden, and all other contemporary authorities, describe the singular composure of her deportment on this occasion, which, we may add, entirely accorded with her demeanour during the remaining hours of her life.

her hand upon a Testament which lay before her, "I am wholly ignorant. I solemnly declare that I never instigated or approved of any conspiracy against the life of the Queen of England."¹

"That is a Popish Testament," interrupted the Earl of Kent, a furious fanatic, who had on that account apparently been selected by Burghley to witness the death of the Scottish queen; "an oath taken upon that Testament is worthless as the book itself." "It is," said Mary, "according to my belief, the true Testament. Would you, my lord, give more credit to my oath if I swore upon your version, in which I do not believe?" Kent replied by desiring her to renounce her superstition, and he added that the Dean of Peterborough was in the castle, and that she should be permitted to avail herself of his services. This offer Mary at once declined, and earnestly requested instead that her almoner might be allowed to attend her. As might have been anticipated from the language and conduct of Kent, she received a peremptory refusal. She then inquired when she was to die. Shrewsbury replied that the hour fixed was eight o'clock next morning. Having made this announcement, the two noblemen took their leave.

Every circumstance attending the execution of the Queen of Scots was marked with unnecessary barbarity. After months of suspense, she was finally summoned to the block at a few hours' notice. It was evidently the purpose of Burghley to hurry on the preparations for her death, lest his mistress should change her mind; and the admirers of that minister will seek to justify the indecent haste on the ground

¹ Jebb, ii. 612.

² Ibid.

of State expediency. But why was Mary refused in her last moments the consolations of her religion? We have seen that, some weeks before,¹ Elizabeth had expressly desired that she should be allowed to avail herself of the services of her almoner. We must therefore assume that Paulet had taken upon himself to disregard the orders he had received. He knew that Mary, being now cut off from all communication with the outer world, had no means of complaining of his conduct to Elizabeth; and he probably consoled himself with the reflection that in this instance disobedience to his mistress was obedience to his religion.

Surrounded by her weeping attendants, Mary now entreated them to cease their lamentations, for there was much to be done in the few short hours of life that still remained to her. At supper, which she desired to be served earlier than usual, she drank to them all in turn, and expressed a fervent hope that they would remain constant in their religion and live in peace together. She afterwards divided amongst them all the money which the rapacity of her keepers had left her. She distributed among her women her jewels and her wardrobe, reserving only for herself the dress in which she intended to appear upon the scaffold. She then wrote out her will, entirely in her own hand, describing with minute care a variety of legacies and memorials which she desired to be given to her relatives and servants.²

In the course of the night she had a conversation with one of her French attendants named Gorion,³ in which, as he was about to proceed to Spain, she

¹ *Ante*, p. 441.

² See Labanoff, vi. 485. It occupies six pages.

³ Her apothecary; see Teulet, v. 500.

desired him to inform the king that she died true to her creed, and that she earnestly recommended to his favour and protection those of her attendants and friends who through all her misfortunes had served her with unchanging zeal and affection. She especially named Jane Kennedy, and Elizabeth Curle and her brother Gilbert,¹ who had so long acted as her secretary. She also recommended to Philip, on account of their faithful services, James Beaton the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Ross; and she expressed an earnest hope that he would continue the pensions he had allowed to the English refugees who had fled to France and Spain—namely, to the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Paget, Charles Paget, Charles Arundel, Thomas Throgmorton, Thomas Morgan, and Ralph Liggons.²

Having enumerated her friends, she did not hesitate to acquaint Gorion with the names of her chief enemies. She bade him tell Philip, that if he ever again became King of England, to remember the treatment she had received from Burghley, Leicester, Walsingham, Huntingdon, Paulet, and Wade. While enumerating her enemies in England, Mary exhibited an unparalleled instance of feminine forbearance and generosity in omitting the name of Elizabeth.³

Before retiring to rest, she wrote a short letter to the King of France informing him that she was to be executed next morning for a crime of which she was wholly innocent; and that, although her almoner was

¹ It would appear from this that Mary was ignorant of the alleged confession of Curle in the Star Chamber.

² Teulet, v. 503.

³ Ibid., 504. The omission is very remarkable.

residing under the same roof, she was not allowed to see him. She entreated Henry to take her servants under his protection, and to pray for the soul of a queen "who once was styled Most Christian, and who was about to die in the true faith, deprived of all she once possessed."¹ It was two in the morning when she finished writing, and her physician now prevailed on her to take some rest. She retired for some hours, her women watching and weeping by her side; but they observed that she slept but little, and that her lips occasionally moved, as if in prayer. Before day-break she desired Jane Kennedy to read to her from one of her favourite books, 'The Lives of the Saints.'² She then prepared with more than ordinary care for the last scene of her life. The dress which she had reserved for the occasion was of rich black satin,³ and she wore a long white veil of crape reaching to the ground. After her toilet was completed, she retired to her oratory and remained at her devotions until, at the appointed hour, the sheriff was announced. She then rose from her knees, and simply said, "Let us go."

Being unable, from the weakness of her limbs, to walk without assistance, she was supported by two of her servants until she reached the outer door of her apartments, when their place was taken by two of Paulet's retainers. "It is the last trouble I shall give you," she said, cheerfully taking the proffered arm of each, and, preceded by the sheriff and the two earls, she moved slowly towards the hall. Before they reached it, Sir Andrew Melvill, who had been allowed to be present on the occasion, made his appearance,

¹ Labanoff, vi. 492.² Jebb, ii. 631.³ Teulet, iv. 150.

and throwing himself on his knees before the queen, burst into tears, lamenting that it should have fallen to his lot to carry to Scotland the tidings of her death. "Weep not, good Melvill," she replied, "but rather rejoice that an end has come at last to the sorrows of Mary Stewart; for know that all this world is but vanity. And this message I pray you bear from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and a true woman to Scotland and to France.¹ But God forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the hart thirsteth for the water-brooks. O God!" she continued, "who art the Author of all truth—and truth itself—Thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart, and how that I was ever willing that England and Scotland should be united. Commend me to my son. Tell him that I have done nothing to prejudice his rights as King of Scotland. And now, good Melvill, fare thee well."² So saying, she kissed him, and then proceeded on her way.

Before reaching the great hall, she requested Kent that he would allow her women to be present at her death; but this he flatly refused, saying that the company would be disturbed by their cries and lamentations, and that they might even be guilty of the superstitious folly of dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood. Mary replied that she would pledge her word they would do nothing of the kind. But Kent still remained obdurate, upon which Mary said she could not believe that his mistress would sanction such treatment even of a far meaner person. "You know," she continued, "that I am the cousin of your

¹ Harleian MSS., 290.

² Ibid.

queen, descended like her from the blood of Henry VII., a married Queen of France, and an anointed Queen of Scotland. Surely, my lord, you cannot deny me this my last request. My poor girls only wish to see me die." Shrewsbury appears to have now interfered ; for after consulting together, the two earls informed her that she might choose two of her ladies and four of her male attendants to accompany her to the scaffold. Of the former she selected Jane Kennedy and Elizabeth Curle : and of the latter, Burgoin, her physician ; Gorion, her apothecary ; Gervais, her surgeon ; and Didier, her butler.¹

She was now led to the scaffold, a platform about two feet high and covered with black cloth which had been erected in the centre of the hall. It was surrounded by guards ; and although the gates of the castle were closed, some two hundred persons assembled to witness the execution, consisting of various gentlemen of the county, and the retainers of Shrewsbury and Kent. The tranquil and composed demeanour of the Scottish queen filled the spectators with surprise. Having taken the seat prepared for her, Beale, the clerk of the Council, proceeded to read aloud the commission for her execution, to which she listened as if it had in no way concerned her.²

¹ Ellis, iii. 114. Among her four male attendants Tytler names her "almoner" as one—see vol. viii. 355 ; but this is a mistake. It is certain that she was not allowed to see him at this time.—See her letter to him the night before her execution ; Labanoff, vi. 483.

² "During the reading of which commission the Queen of Scots was silent, listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all, and with as cheerful a countenance as if it had been a pardon from her majesty for her life ;" Ellis, iii. 113.—From a report of the manner of the execution of the Queen of Scots sent to Lord Burghley. In the account in Teulet, she is described as "regardant toute l'assemblée d'une joyeuse contenance."—Teulet, iv. 157.

After Beale had finished reading, she said aloud, in the hearing of all present, that although a sovereign princess, she had been wrongfully imprisoned, and wrongfully charged with crimes of which before this company she now most solemnly declared that she was innocent. Being about to die, she would accuse no one; but she felt assured and consoled with the reflection, that after she was gone much would be brought to light that now was hid, and that the objects of those who had so eagerly sought her death would one day be disclosed.¹

Shrewsbury, now addressing her, said, "Madam, you know what is to be done." She replied simply, "Do your duty," and was about to leave her seat when Dr Fletcher, the Protestant Dean of Peterborough, appeared upon the scaffold.

It is hardly credible that even in this age a dignitary of the Anglican Church and a nobleman of the highest rank should have persistently insulted a dying woman at her devotions. Yet such was the undoubted fact. Although she again and again informed the dean that, being resolved to die in the faith in which she had lived, she must decline his services, he addressed her in a long and elaborate harangue,² expatiating on her crimes and on the virtues of Elizabeth, and exhorting her to abandon her religion and adopt his while there was yet time for repentance. Observing that Mary, instead of listening to the dean, was absorbed in her own thoughts, and occasionally kissed a crucifix³ which she carried in her hand, Kent ex-

¹ Jebb, ii. 636; and Tytler, viii. 356.

² It is given at full length in Strype, *Annals*, iii., Appendix.

³ It was sent by her desire to the Earl of Arundel, and is now in the possession of Mr Howard of Corby Castle.

claimed, "You had better, madam, leave such Popish trumperies and carry Christ in your heart." Shrewsbury, more reasonable than his colleague, proposed that as Mary declined to listen to the exhortations of the dean, they should join with her in prayer. "My lords," she said, "if you will pray for me I shall be thankful for your prayers; but I cannot join with you in prayer, for your religion is not mine."¹

She then fell on her knees and prayed aloud in Latin, while the dean and the two earls prayed in English, accompanied by many of the spectators. At length they ceased, while Mary continued at her devotions, and every other sound was hushed. She now, in the hearing of all present, prayed in English for the welfare of the Church, for Queen Elizabeth, for her son the King of Scots, and for all her enemies.² When she ceased, the executioner and his assistant approached her; but she said with a smile that she was not used to such attendants, nor to undress before so large a company. She then called her two ladies, who in vain attempted to restrain their grief. Mary, placing her finger on her lips, said that she had pledged her word for them. With their assistance she then put off her robe, and appeared attired from head to foot in crimson.³ The executioner now begged her forgiveness upon his knees. "I forgive every one," was her reply;

¹ Ellis, iii. 115.

² Jebb, ii. 638; Camden, 536.

³ "Son cotillon estoit de velours rouge, et le corps estoit de satin rouge, et estant despoillé jusques à ce cotillon, l'une de ces demoiselles luy ayant apporté une paire de manches de satin rouge, laquelle elle mist en ses bras; et ainsy fut exécuté tout en rouge."—From a contemporary narrative in Teulet, iv. 160. There is at Blairs College, Aberdeenshire, a contemporary portrait of Queen Mary which contains in the background a representation of the execution. In it she appears attired in crimson only to the waist.

and kneeling at the block with a handkerchief bound round her eyes, she said several times aloud, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Kent and Dr Fletcher had beheld the scene unmoved, but it was otherwise with the executioner. Distracted by the audible sobs of the spectators, he missed his aim, and struck her a wavering and uncertain blow on the back part of the head. It probably rendered her insensible, for she remained unmoved; and after two additional strokes her head rolled on the scaffold. He then held it up, disfigured as it was, in the view of all present, and cried out in the usual form, "God save the queen." The Dean of Peterborough shouted, "So perish all the queen's enemies!"¹ The Earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen."² Shrewsbury shed tears³ in silence, and the rest of the spectators were lost in pity and admiration.

¹ "Then Mr Dean said with a loud voice, 'So perish all the queen's enemies!'"—Ellis, iii. 117.

² "Ouy dit le Comte de Kent, á haut voix, et d'un grand courage, 'Amen, Amen.'"—Teulet, iv. 161.

³ "Le Comte de Cherosbery et plusieurs autres furent remarqués avoir repandu des larmes."—Ibid.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RESULTS OF MARY'S DEATH.

THE minds of the people had been carefully prepared for the execution of the Queen of Scots by the circulation of rumours of the most alarming kind. It was given out that her son was busily preparing for war, that the Duke of Guise had actually landed on the south coast at the head of an invading army, and that she herself had made her escape from Fotheringay.¹ When, therefore, the news of her death reached London, the church bells tolled still more merrily, and the bonfires blazed still brighter, than when the sentence pronounced against her had been publicly proclaimed. It would perhaps be unjust, under all the circumstances, to accuse the citizens of inhumanity for indulging in these demonstrations, for they only expressed a natural

¹ On the 4th of February, four days before Mary's execution, the Mayor of Exeter received the following significant notice: "These are to charge you in her majesty's name, upon death, to make diligent search and hue and cry everyway for the Queen of Scots, who is fled, and to lay all highways and stay all barks and shipping in your harbours. So you keep a standing watch day and night until you receive order to the contrary," &c.—Thomas Ward, Constable of Honiton. See Ellis's Letters, 2d series, vol. iii. 108. See also a letter from the Mayor of Exeter, dated Saturday the 4th February, stating that he had received intelligence that London had been set on fire, and that he had caused "men and armour accordingly to be in readiness."—Wright, ii. 330.

sense of relief from dangers which they had been artfully taught to believe were of the most imminent and appalling kind, and which had now passed entirely away.

But the tidings of Mary's death brought no relief to the anxious mind of Elizabeth. She knew well that violent remedies, although sometimes successful, were always dangerous; and she received the news with mingled feelings of apprehension and remorse. Then followed a succession of scenes far surpassing in violence anything in her previous history. After an outburst of grief which astonished and alarmed her attendants, she declared that she had been deceived by her ministers, and that although she had signed the warrant, she never intended it to be executed. Walsingham, under the pretext of illness, kept discreetly aloof from Court; but Burghley and Davison were both at Greenwich, and against both she was, or seemed to be, incensed to a degree of fury which they had never previously witnessed. She drove the lord treasurer from her presence with a volley of abuse, and she accused the secretary of disobeying her orders and violating his duty on a matter of supreme importance. Burghley, as was his wont on such occasions, resorted to his pen for consolation;¹ and Davison, who had the misfortune to be far too honest for his office, and who had faithfully obeyed the orders of the queen in causing the warrant to be executed, was deliberately sacrificed to the supposed exigencies of the hour. As Elizabeth now pretended that Mary

¹ See in Strype (*Annals*, iii., Appendix) a long series of proverbs, some in English, some in Latin, and some in Greek, which he wrote out on the occasion.

had been put to death not only without her sanction, but against her express orders, she sought to convince the world of her sincerity by consigning to ruin and disgrace the man she had employed to effect her purpose. She acted in strict accordance with the rules of political morality both preached and practised in the sixteenth century; but probably not a single human being was deceived by all this parade of hypocrisy and treachery.

We have seen that Burghley had himself proposed, before the warrant was despatched, that all the members of the Council should share the responsibility of Mary's death. But in spite of this solemn engagement, the lord treasurer and his colleagues basely abandoned Davison to the vengeance of the queen. It was in vain that he declared that he had faithfully obeyed her orders. She knew that there were no witnesses to their conversation. She charged him with falsehood and disobedience; and he was condemned by the Star Chamber to be imprisoned and to pay an enormous fine,¹ which entailed upon him pecuniary ruin as well as political extinction. Never during the fifteen remaining years of her reign did Elizabeth relent or exhibit a trace of compunction for the sufferings of the man whom she thus cruelly sacrificed, in the vain hope of imposing upon the world. The most zealous and faithful of all the ministers she ever possessed remained in obscurity and disgrace till the day of her death.²

¹ Howell, i. 1229. He was tried for misprision and contempt.

² That James was fully persuaded of Davison's innocence, we may assume from the fact that he received him into favour after he succeeded to the English crown.

"It reflects much honour on James," says Sir Harris Nicolas, "that he should have surmounted the prejudice which he must have naturally

The passionate grief displayed by Elizabeth on the death of Mary has been very generally ascribed to pure hypocrisy; but there is good reason for believing that much of the emotion which she exhibited was genuine, and that she was in reality deeply moved by the last act of the long-anticipated yet ever-dreaded tragedy. We cannot doubt that the struggle, which ended in her final resolution to take her rival's life, had been long and painful; and now that the deed was done, it was impossible that she could be blind to the infamy which it was sure to entail, or to the dangers which it was likely to provoke. The execution of Mary was a mortal challenge, not only to Scotland and to France, but to the whole of Catholic Europe. Gray, indeed, had assured Elizabeth that James would upon no account break the peace; but the Kings of Scotland were rarely masters of their subjects, and how would the nobility and people brook this unparalleled national affront? The King of France, too, although at the time sorely beset by his two enemies, Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre, had displayed much more energy on behalf of his sister-in-law than could have been expected from his previous conduct. He was, moreover, highly incensed at the utterly groundless charges made against his ambassador, and still more at the imprisonment of Destresses—a proceeding which, even if he had been proved to be guilty, was a gross breach of the law of nations. Henry, in retaliation, laid an

felt against one accused, and even convicted, of causing his mother's death, by allowing himself to be persuaded of his innocence; and by thus serving him, he testified to the world that such was his view of Davison's case."—*Life of Davison*, 199.

embargo on British shipping, and sent a special envoy to London to demand redress.¹ As for the King of Spain, he was still busily employed in equipping his fleets and collecting his levies for the invasion of England; and the execution of the Queen of Scots not only led him to accelerate his preparations, but induced a host of volunteers from all parts of Europe to flock to the standard of the Prince of Parma, in the hope of sharing in the glory of the crusade which that renowned commander was about to lead against the inveterate enemy of their religion and the incessant disturber of the world's peace.²

In this menacing aspect of affairs it was of the first importance to conciliate the King of Scots. Elizabeth accordingly addressed him in an autograph letter, which she intrusted to her cousin Robert Carey,³

¹ Mignet, ii. 246, and authorities there cited.

² Ibid., 234; De Thou, 89; Strada, lib. ix.

³ A son of Lord Hunsdon. The following was the letter addressed by Elizabeth to the King of Scots:—

“MY DEAR BROTHER,—I would you knew, though not felt, the extreme colour that overwhelmeth my mind for that miserable accident, which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen. I have sent this kinsman of mine, whom ere now it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my pen to tell you. I beseech you, that as God and many men know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me, that if I had done it I would have abode by it. I am not so base-minded that the fear of any living creature should make me afraid to do what is just; I am not so degenerate, nor carry so vile a mind. But as not to disguise fits most a king, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them show as I mean them. Thus assure yourself from me that as I know it was deserved, if I had meant it, I would never over another's shoulders, and to impute to myself that which I did not so much as think of: I will not. The circumstances you will be pleased to hear of this bearer; and for my part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman, and more dear friend, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your State; and if any would otherwise persuade you, think they bear more goodwill to others than to

and in which she solemnly disavowed all participation in his mother's death. She described that event as a miserable accident, and she expressed the deepest sympathy with James in his misfortune and the most devoted attachment to his person. These representations deceived no one; and to avenge Mary's death, the Borderers, who had ever been partisans of his mother, soon afterwards broke into the northern counties at various points,¹ and after inflicting a vast amount of damage, attacked the Warden of the Middle Marches, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, in his Castle of Eslington, from which, to avoid capture, he was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. At any other time Elizabeth would have exacted prompt and ample reparation for these affronts, but the dread of an alliance between James and the Spanish king induced her to dissemble; and Walsingham addressed to the former a long and very able despatch,² in which he pointed out all the benefits, both immediate and prospective, of the treaty he had recently concluded with England, and the dangers which were likely to ensue in the event of his joining the Catholic Powers. James³ perceived his advantage,

you. Thus in haste I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to send you a long reign."—Printed in Rapin, b. xvii.

¹ "The Scots Borderers have made great incursions in England, for repressing whereof the Lord of Hunsdon is expected shortly with forces. The king winketh at the matter."—Courcelles' *Negotiations*, vii. 50. See also Tytler, ix. 8, and Border correspondence there cited.

² The letter is printed in Spottiswoode, 359 *et seq.*

³ It is difficult to believe that James was sincerely desirous of saving his mother when he employed her worst enemy, the Master of Gray, to intercede for her. It is said that he exhibited much emotion when he heard of her death.—See Lord Scrope to Walsingham; Wright, ii. 333. But Calderwood says, "When the king heard of the execution he could not conceal his inward joy, howbeit outwardly he seemed sorrowful.

and resolved to make the most of it. The execution of his mother furnished him with a just cause of war; and with no real intention of coming to a final rupture with Elizabeth, he might, by assuming a menacing attitude, extort from her much more favourable conditions than those of the preceding year. No definite reply, therefore, was returned to Walsingham's despatch: but the principal nobility still continued clamorous for war; and Lord Maxwell, the most powerful of the Border chiefs, repaired to the Court of Philip, and was expected by his friends to reappear very speedily with a Spanish squadron in the Solway.¹ It was at this period of general excitement and expectation that the Master of Gray was brought to trial for his crimes. His accuser was Sir William Stewart, the brother of the Earl of Arran, who had fallen a victim to his intrigues; and he was specially charged with having instigated the ministers of Elizabeth to put the king's mother to death. Gray defended himself with his accustomed audacity and skill, but he was convicted and sentenced to die as a traitor. On the intercession of Lord Claud Hamilton, his life was spared, and he was allowed to retire to France. He

. . . He said that night to some few that were beside him, I am now sole king.'"—Calderwood, iv. 611. Although exaggerated, there is probably some truth in this description.

¹ Lord Maxwell was expected to arrive at Kirkcudbright with a Spanish force, which was to take part in the invasion of England.—Courcelles' Negotiations, 78.

Speaking of the demeanour of the nobility at a Parliament held this summer, Courcelles says: "As for the revenge of his (the king's) mother's death, they swore and protested they would be always ready to bestow life and goods in that quarrel, and fight in it as long as any drop of blood rested in their bodies; and if he (the king) would forthwith command them to take arms and invade England, they would verify their protestations by effects."—June 6, 1587; Courcelles, 70.

now abandoned his Protestant friends; for we soon afterwards find him engaged in fresh intrigues on behalf of his early patrons, the Spanish ambassador and the Duke of Guise.¹

Elizabeth had been assured by her ministers that she could only hope for security and peace by consenting to Mary's death. But never were predictions more completely falsified, for at no period of her career did she find herself in a situation more critical and alarming than after that event. She knew that, in spite of the flatteries of her courtiers, she was execrated as a murderess throughout the greater part of Europe; and on whichever side she turned, she was confronted by dangers which she was compelled to meet, but all of which she could hardly hope to overcome. In addition to the hostile attitude of the Kings of France and Spain, Ireland was once more in rebellion; and could she venture to count in case of need upon the loyalty of her Catholic subjects, whom she had so long and cruelly persecuted? In Scotland there was now a powerful Spanish faction, headed by Huntly, Crawford, and Maxwell, who did not fail to represent to the king that he would never have so fair an opportunity of avenging his mother's death as by joining Philip in his great enterprise. But James entertained a shrewd suspicion that in case Philip did succeed in annexing England to his dominions, he would not only keep his conquest to himself, but perhaps deprive him of his own realm of Scotland. It is probable, therefore, that he never seriously entertained the overtures of Philip; although, to alarm Elizabeth, he listened to them with apparent approval. Eventually, after a vast amount

¹ Occurrences out of Scotland; Record Office, January 1587-88.

of double-dealing upon both sides, she offered, and he agreed to accept, as compensation for his mother's death, a fresh pension and an English duchy.¹ But it is satisfactory to know that he never obtained either the one or the other; for after the danger of a Spanish invasion had passed away, she found abundance of pretexts for evading the performance of her promise.²

With the King of France, Elizabeth had a less difficult part to play. Although Henry was sincerely desirous of avenging both Mary's death and the affront to his ambassador, his dread on the one hand of the growing power of the Duke of Guise, and on the other of the Protestant heir of his house, the indomitable Henry of Navarre, who after a hundred defeats was still as confident as ever of ultimate success, compelled him to pause before he ventured on an open rupture with England. But his mother, Catherine, regarded the death of Mary with absolute indifference, if not with satisfaction; and through her influence he was finally induced not only to leave it unavenged, but to accept the ample apologies of Elizabeth for the treatment of his ambassador and the imprisonment of Des-trappes.³

With Spain the relations of Elizabeth had always been on an anomalous footing, and after Mary's death they became more strangely complicated than ever. Within two months of that event, Drake set out on one of his marauding expeditions; and after destroying an immense amount of shipping and military stores

¹ William Ashley to Burghley, 6th August 1588; Record Office.

² Fowler to Walsingham, 29th December; *ibid.*

³ Mignet, ii. 250.

at Cadiz and Lisbon, returned to England laden with plunder. But although he had sailed with the sanction of the queen—for several of her ships took part in the expedition—she gave him but a cold reception; for she was now immersed in negotiations with the States of Holland on the one hand, and with Philip and the Prince of Parma on the other. Ambassadors from the Dutch Republic were beseeching her to aid them with more men and money, to enable them to continue the deadly struggle in which they had embarked; while the Spanish king and his lieutenant professed their anxious wish for peace at almost any price. Elizabeth treated the only allies upon whom at this time she could depend with boisterous rudeness or insolent condescension, while to the insidious overtures of their enemies she listened with unmixed delight. Nothing is more certain than that Philip and Parma only sought to amuse the English queen and her ministers by the peace negotiations which were now commenced. Although the slowest, Philip was the most obstinate of men, and the invasion of England was a thing upon which his mind had long been irrevocably fixed. He only sought to deceive Elizabeth as to his true intentions; and he entirely succeeded. Burghley was equally the dupe of the Spanish king, for he gave entire credit to his professions of amity and peace. It is surprising that the lord treasurer and his mistress should have been so thoroughly deluded by arts which they themselves had so long and so systematically practised. But such was the undoubted fact. Although for twenty years they had given Philip every conceivable kind of provocation, they seemingly thought to turn him from his schemes of vengeance by sud-

denly professing for him the warmest friendship.¹ While this diplomatic farce was going on, they wilfully shut their eyes to the vast preparations which in Spain and Portugal, as well as in Italy and Belgium, were being made for the culminating effort of Philip's life.

Elizabeth's advisers were not all equally blind to the coming danger. Walsingham and Leicester never believed in the pacific professions of the Spanish king;² and the Lord Admiral Howard did not hesitate to denounce with a sailor's frankness the inconceivable credulity of Burghley. "Since England was England," he said, "there never was such a stratagem and mask to deceive her as this treaty of peace. I pray God that we do not curse for this *a long grey beard with a white head, witless*. You know whom I mean."³ Howard was evidently of opinion that the vessel of the State required for its guidance in the coming storm a clearer head and a firmer hand than those of the old lord treasurer; and fortunately for England, there were in the hour of peril men fit to take the helm. But they were neither diplomatists nor ministers of State.

During the progress of these negotiations Leicester resumed his command in the Netherlands; but his military incapacity, and his imperious, irascible, and revengeful temper, soon became more conspicuous than ever. He had no sympathy for the people he was sent to govern. He affected to despise them as traders and mechanics, and they saw plainly that he was neither

¹ For a detailed account of these negotiations see Motley, ii. chap. xviii.

² Ibid.

³ Howard to Walsingham, quoted by Motley from Record Office, 26th January 1588; Motley, United Netherlands, ii. 425.

wise in council nor fit to cope with Parma in the field. It was not possible, under these circumstances, that he could long maintain his post; and after a few months of mutual recrimination, he took his final leave of the Netherlands, cordially detested by the inhabitants, and no less cordially detesting them in turn.¹

Philip had now matured his plans. By the middle of April 1588, an army of 60,000 men had assembled in the Netherlands; and at Newport, Sluys, and Dunkirk, Parma had collected transports sufficient for the conveyance of his invading force across the Channel. In another month the mightiest naval armament that the world had ever seen sailed from the Tagus, and yet Elizabeth and Burghley continued to believe in peace. She was still employed in bullying the deputies from the States, and in bandying compliments with Parma; while the lord treasurer was pottering over interminable protocols which Philip's astute lieutenant was busily exchanging with the queen's representatives at Ostend, where from week to week they confidently expected the peace negotiations to be concluded.²

After the Armada sailed it was driven back by foul weather to the Spanish coast, and Elizabeth's ministers assumed that no further attempt would be made for at least another year. Even Walsingham shared in this delusion. But Howard and Drake were of a different opinion, and so was Sir John Norris, who, with other officers who had served with distinction in the Netherlands, never ceased to urge upon the queen the necessity of taking effective measures for the

¹ Motley, United Netherlands, ii. chap. xviii.

² Ibid., vol. ii. chap. xix. 438, 439.

defence of her dominions. But it was not until the Spanish fleet was descried off the coast of Devonshire, on the 20th of July,¹ that all doubts as to the reality of the invasion were removed. It carried on board an army of some 20,000 men; and so meagre had been the preparations for defence, that they probably might have been landed without any serious opposition. But the Spanish admiral, Medina Sidonia, had strict orders to steer direct for Calais roads. He was there to await the arrival of the Prince of Parma, who, protected by the fleet, was to transport his invading army across the Channel. As he had no fortresses to take, and no standing army to oppose him, he calculated that with 30,000 of his best troops he should be able to make his way to London with comparatively little loss.

To oppose the finest army and the first commander in the world, Leicester was despatched to Tilbury, where some² thousands of hastily-collected levies had been assembled. But they were half-fed, half-armed, and wholly undisciplined; and no one, excepting the vainglorious earl himself—who immediately on his arrival began, as was his custom, to quarrel with his officers—anticipated, with such materials, an easy victory over the veterans of Parma. Fortunately for the reputation of the queen's favourite, and for the queen herself, no opportunity was afforded him of acquiring in England that military distinction which in the Netherlands he had sought in vain.

¹ Old style, which is maintained throughout, unless the contrary is stated.

² On the 26th of July, the day before the Armada reached Calais, only 4000 men had arrived at Tilbury, and they were unprovided both with beef and beer.—Motley, ii. 490.

To Lord Hunsdon was intrusted the defence of London; and in the hour of danger nothing could exceed the energy and enthusiasm of the people. While the queen was complaining bitterly of the cost of her soldiers and her sailors, and in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of their commanders stinting their supplies even of arms and ammunition, the most liberal contributions of both were made by private individuals. The merchants and traders of the seaport towns fitted out innumerable armed vessels at their own cost, which, although no match for the great war-ships of Spain, rendered essential service in the coming struggle. The plan of the English commanders was to avoid a general engagement with the Spanish fleet, which, as compared with their own, was of overwhelming strength. But they trusted that their superior seamanship, and their perfect knowledge of the Channel and its currents, would enable them to attack and destroy their enemy in detail; and these wise tactics proved successful even beyond their expectations.

The Armada reached its destination in Calais roads on the 27th of July. The English fleet, led by Howard, Drake, the veteran Hawkins, and Martin Frobisher, had, for a week, followed closely in its track, engaging in a series of desultory fights with detached portions of the squadron. In these encounters the English were invariably successful; but the critical moment, upon which the fate of the expedition, and perhaps of England, depended, had now arrived. It was in Calais roads that Parma with his invading army was to join the Spanish fleet. But a contingency of which Philip had never dreamed proved

fatal to all his calculations. He had taught the Hollanders to fight on the water as well as on the land; and Flushing, Newport, Sluys, and Dunkirk were at this time all closely blockaded by their fleets. Parma's transports were fully prepared for the reception of his troops; but in the face of such an enemy it would have been madness to put to sea: and hemmed in on every side, he was forced to abandon all immediate hope of joining the Armada, and to await in helpless inactivity the progress of events.

Perceiving the dilemma in which the Spanish admiral was placed, the English commanders now promptly determined to act on the offensive. They could not venture upon a pitched engagement with an enemy so vastly their superior, but they resorted to a stratagem which had the effect of placing them more on a footing of equality. About midnight on Sunday the 28th of July, the Spaniards descried, to their horror and amazement, a number of fire-ships drifting towards them in the darkness. The wind, which was blowing from the south-west, threatened to carry these engines of destruction right into their midst and remembering the fire-ships of Antwerp which had been sent against Parma's bridge, they were seized with an uncontrollable panic,¹ and immediately put to sea in the utmost disorder. They were forthwith assailed at great disadvantage by the English, who, throughout the night, inflicted upon them a vast amount of damage. Then followed a succession of storms, very unusual at that season of the year, which carried both fleets to the northwards; and after several days' continued fighting, in which the Spaniards suffered terri-

¹ Motley, ii. 466 *et seq.*

bly, as well from the enemy as from the tempestuous weather, they finally abandoned their project of invading England. But as the Channel was now literally swarming with English and Dutch cruisers, they preferred to sail round the north of Scotland on their homeward voyage to a renewal of the struggle. They were hotly pursued as far as the Firth of Forth, where the English commanders were reluctantly forced to abandon the chase for the want both of provisions and ammunition. It was after all danger had passed away, and the remnant of the Spanish fleet was in full retreat towards the Orkneys, that Elizabeth paid her celebrated visit to Tilbury. She is there said to have commended the valour and patriotism of her troops,¹ which, in fact, they had had no opportunity of displaying; but at this very time her sailors, who had fought her battles with a courage and a constancy that was never surpassed, were perishing of hunger. "Tis a most pitiful sight," said the lord admiral, "to see here, at Margate, how the men, having no place where they can be received, die in the streets. I am driven of force myself to come on land to see them bestowed in some lodgings; and the best I can get is barns and such outhouses, and the relief is small that I can provide for them here. *It would grieve any man's heart to see men that have served so valiantly die so miserably.*"²

¹ It seems very questionable whether Elizabeth ever made any such harangue as that attributed to her.—See Lingard, vi. 252, note.

² Howard to the Privy Council, 22d August; quoted by Motley from the Record Office, ii. 497. Burghley seems to have encouraged the queen in her ill-timed parsimony. In a memorial dated the 12th of August, when the fate of the Armada was still undecided, we find him laying down such axioms as the following: "To continue charges without need-

Thus ended the mighty enterprise of Philip. If it had succeeded, it was doubtless his intention to have claimed the crown of England as the Catholic heir of Mary Stewart ; and all Catholic Europe would have hailed the overthrow of Elizabeth as an act of righteous retribution. But her astonishing good fortune did not desert her at this the most momentous crisis in her history. The mischievous activity of her ministers had brought her into a position of tremendous peril. She was saved by the friendly interposition of the elements in her behalf ; by the extraordinary skill and daring of her sailors, whom she allowed to starve ; and by the fidelity and vigilance of her Dutch allies, whom she had all along been ready to abandon and betray.

Elizabeth gained much in reputation from the circumstance that the most powerful monarchs of the age, her rivals in policy and in religion, were in no way conspicuous for their abilities or their virtues. It must be admitted that, with all her defects, the Protestant queen contrasted favourably with the remorseless bigot of the Escorial and the painted puppet of the Louvre. - She had indeed enjoyed advantages which Philip and Henry had never known. Not only had she been nurtured in adversity, but her excellent natural talents had been cultivated and improved by an exceptionally excellent education. Among her many accomplishments, she had acquired in high perfection the art without which Tiberius declared that no monarch was fit to reign ; for even her most ardent

ful cause bringeth repentance ;" "to hold on charges without knowledge of the certainty thereof, and of means how to support them, is lack of wisdom," &c.—Motley, ii. 496.

admirers must now admit that Elizabeth imposed more successfully upon mankind than any equally conspicuous personage of history. In the eyes of the multitude in her own day, and in those of many historians since, she was a great and magnanimous sovereign—the idol of her people and the terror of her enemies. In reality it is easy to perceive, through all her cleverness and cunning, that she was not only the vainest and the meanest, but the most irresolute and vacillating of her sex. Her capricious and tyrannical treatment of her ministers and attendants, the domineering tone which she could assume with so much effect towards foreign ambassadors, and her occasional sallies of coarse wit, were all to ordinary observers so many proofs of her high and courageous spirit. They in reality veiled, though they could not conceal, a radical weakness in her nature, which is abundantly perceptible throughout her whole career. The incredible amount of irresolution which she displayed on every great emergency, and the startling inconsistencies of her policy and conduct, admit of no other explanation; nor is it too much to say, that the greatest crimes which stain her memory were committed under the influence of terror. When the insatiable spirit of vengeance which she displayed after the bloodless rising of 1569 alarmed her best friends; when she allowed her soldiers to die of hunger in the Netherlands, with the deliberate intention of betraying to Philip the people she had sworn to protect; when she would have had her Council invent some new kind of tortures, more horrible still than the law allowed, to be employed in the punishment of Babington and his companions; when, after a ceaseless struggle of nineteen years, she was

finally induced to consent to the murder of Mary Stewart, and when she perfidiously sought to transfer the guilt of the deed to the minister who had faithfully obeyed her orders,—we must, in charity, assume that she was the slave of her womanish fears. As her powers of intellect became impaired, the weaknesses inherent in her nature became more and more apparent; and there is nothing in all history more painfully tragic than the closing scenes of Elizabeth's life. To the very end she was haunted by imaginary terrors,¹ until she died, at last, the most fortunate of sovereigns, but the most broken-hearted and the most unlovable of women.

¹ It is well known that Elizabeth lay on the floor of her chamber for several days and nights before her death, positively refusing, though entreated by her attendants, to return to her bed. If they had seen, she told them, what she had seen there, they would not have asked her to go back to bed. She appears to have remained in this state for two days and three nights.—Narrative of Mrs Southwell, cited by Lingard vi. 316, note.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THE history of Mary Stewart has left so indelible a stain upon that both of England and Scotland, that we need not be surprised to find a majority of the writers of both countries agreed in representing her as the victim of her own misconduct. Although it is natural to sympathise with misfortune, national pride and religious prejudice are sentiments far stronger; and nothing could be more humiliating to both than the reflection that an innocent woman had undergone a course of persecution to which all similar examples of State iniquity are but as dust in the balance. But there are three English historians of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries respectively, who have arrived at this conclusion, and who, in point of research and accuracy, are certainly unequalled by any of their contemporaries. These are Camden, Carte, and Lingard, whose opinions have been rarely referred to in these volumes, as it has been my intention throughout to investigate the charges against the Queen of Scots as they have been presented by her enemies, and to test

them chiefly by the evidence which they have supplied.¹

¹ The following are the remarks of Carte, a historian now too little read, on the character and fate of Mary Stewart: "It is the fate of some princes to be ruined by their virtues; her clemency was abused and returned with the vilest ingratitude; her religion served as a pretence to all the insurrections that disturbed her reign, and proved at last the cause of her death; her honest, open, unsuspecting nature drew her to put confidence in Murray and other ministers that employed their power and credit for her destruction. In France, where she was educated and married very young, the exemplariness of her conduct, the decorum of her Court, the piety of her sentiments, the regularity of her devotions, the liveliness of her conversation, the justness which appeared in all that she said and did, rendered her the delight and admiration of that nation. Removing to Scotland, a country overrun with factions of the nobility grown to a mighty head during a long minority, and filled with a commonality soured by the furious spirit of Knox and his fellow-preachers, ever ready to mutiny and rise in arms on pretence of religion, she became exposed to all the diabolical calumnies which the most profligate of mortals could raise against her for their own interest, and fell into a series of troubles, which, forcing her to take refuge in England, were the occasion of her long imprisonment and cruel death in this country. The patience, the constancy, the firmness with which she endured all the hardships and indignities put upon her during her captivity, cannot be sufficiently admired; the Christian manner of her death was not unworthy of the best of men; and the intrepidity with which she met the king of terrors, the genuine effect of innocence, was not surpassed by any of the heroes of antiquity."—Carte, b. xix. 619. Another distinguished Englishman of the last century expressed himself much in the same terms. In Boswell's *Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides*, the following conversation is described as having taken place in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh: "I here," says Boswell, "began to indulge old Scottish sentiments, and to express a warm regret 'that by our union with England we were no more an independent kingdom.' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'never talk of your independency, who could let your queen remain twenty years in captivity, and then be put to death, *without even a pretence of justice*, without your ever attempting to rescue her; and such a queen, too, as every man of any gallantry of spirit would have sacrificed his life for.' Worthy Mr James Kerr, Keeper of the Records, said, 'Half of our nation was bribed by English money.' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'that is no defence. That makes you worse.'"—*Journal*, 33. It is not generally known that John Wesley expressed a similar opinion. From a passage in his *Journal*, dated April 1768, it appears that he had been reading on the subject, and was convinced of Mary's innocence.

The conclusion at which these historians have arrived is strongly corroborated by a very important authority, the late Mr Markham J. Thorpe, who was employed of recent years by the Master of the Rolls to peruse and arrange the vast collection of letters and papers relating to the Queen of Scots contained in the Record Office. After examining and arranging all these documents, he expressed himself as follows: "The evidence they contain is all-important; there is abundance of insinuation, there is much assertion of guilt, *but proof nowhere*, so far as the compiler has been able to seek it."¹

These same documents, which must fail to convince every impartial inquirer of Mary's guilt, contain abundant evidence of the criminal conduct of her accusers; for of the innumerable fraudulent devices practised for her destruction by Murray, Morton, and Maitland in Scotland, and by Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham in England, we have overwhelming proofs. Forgery was a recognised weapon of diplomacy in the sixteenth century; and we can place no more reliance on

"But how then," he says, "can we account for the quite contrary story which has been almost universally received? Most easily. It was penned in French, English, and Latin (by Queen Elizabeth's order) by George Buchanan, who was secretary to Murray and in Queen Elizabeth's pay; so he was sure to throw dirt enough. Nor was she at liberty to answer for herself. But what, then, was Queen Elizabeth? As just and merciful as Nero, and as good a Christian as Mahomet."—See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, iii. 32. The only mistake he makes is supposing that Bothwell was near seventy at the time of his marriage with the queen.

¹ Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, Preface, 26. The testimony of this gentleman is of the highest value, as it was his duty to examine in detail every document in the collection, including what he justly calls "the monstrous letters" said to have been written by the queen to Bothwell.

the ciphers of Gifford and Philipps than on the contents of Murray's famous casket.

Those historians who maintain that the Scottish queen was the victim, like so many of her ancestors, of her turbulent and treacherous nobility, have a comparatively easy task to perform; but those who have adopted what may be called the popular view of the question, have an obvious difficulty in presenting to their readers an intelligible notion of her character and conduct. The caricatures of Knox and Buchanan have at least the merit of consistency. They deny her the possession of a single virtue, and they accuse her of every crime. But these extravagant creations have given place to others still more extravagant. The favourite fashion at present seems to be to paint her at once as the worst of criminals and the most estimable of her sex. Kindly, yet cruel—constant in her attachments, yet treacherous and fickle—generous and confiding, yet perfidious alike in planning and remorseless in executing her schemes of vengeance,—Mary Stewart has been presented to modern readers as a paragon of contradiction, resembling nothing else in history or even in fiction.

In this estimate of the character of the Scottish queen, Hume, the ablest and the most indulgent, and Mr Froude, the most recent and most reckless of her modern adversaries, seem to agree. "The most amiable of women"¹ is an expression which slips, as it were, involuntarily from the pen of Hume when summing up the qualities of Mary. Mr Froude, although he denounces her as the worst and most abandoned of her sex, and in language unprecedented among his

¹ Chap. xlii.

torians of any age,¹ nevertheless informs his readers that she was "warm² and true in her friendships;" that she had "a noble nature;" and that she was "generous"³ in the extreme. It is difficult to see what more could be said even by the most devoted of her admirers.

But there seems to be an unaccountable confusion of ideas in the notion thus presented of the character and qualities of this celebrated queen. We can well understand that a person of an amiable, constant, noble, and generous nature, might, under the impulse of some strong and sudden provocation, be induced to commit a great crime. But that is not the charge against Mary Stewart. She is accused of a murder requiring in its execution not only the greatest deliberation, but the most consummate deceit. She is accused of feigning the tenderest affection for the husband she abhorred, that she might lure him to the snare prepared for him by his assassins. To assert that any human being, possessed of the high moral qualities attributed by her' modern adversaries to Mary Stewart, could have been guilty of such monstrous wickedness, is an absurdity which refutes itself.

Yet Mr Froude seeks, apparently, to reconcile the existence of all these virtues with all this depravity. By quoting two or three unfriendly remarks from Spanish envoys, the motive for which has been sufficiently explained⁴—by accepting as authentic the

¹ See vol. ix. 44, where he compares her to "a brute." Yet in the very next sentence he speaks of "her noble nature."

² Vol. viii. 191, note.

³ Vol. ix. 250.

⁴ The refusal of the Queen of Scots to sign the Catholic league.

letters produced at Westminster—by accepting as genuine the “depositions” of Paris, which even Buchanan rejected, although they bear his name as an attesting witness—by accepting as genuine the fictions of the ‘Detection,’ and even of occasionally inventing fictions of his own,¹—Mr Froude has made out, to all appearance, a very strong case against the Queen of Scots. But how to reconcile all this wickedness with the noble and amiable qualities which he attributes to the royal criminal, is a problem which he leaves his readers to solve for themselves.

Mr Burton has another theory as to the supposed guilt of the Scottish queen. “Mary,” he says, “was evidently one of those to whom at that time a great affair of the heart was a necessity of life.”² But why at that time? Mary had lived for upwards of four years of widowhood in France and in Scotland, and although constantly surrounded by watchful and hos-

¹ Of this, one notable instance has been given. It is well known to every one acquainted with the history of the controversy, that one of the most suspicious circumstances connected with the alleged letters of the queen to Bothwell is the absolute silence of her enemies at the time of the pretended discovery. Mr Froude gets over the difficulty by boldly asserting, not only that the confederate lords were surprised and indignant beyond measure at the finding of the letters, but that they forthwith sent off one of their number to acquaint Murray, who was then in Paris, with the fact, and to urge him to return to Scotland. For all these details, so circumstantially narrated, not a vestige of authority is given (*ante*, vol. i. 352). See also the speech put into the queen's mouth at the time when she was intercepted by Bothwell, for which no authority is given (*ante*, vol. i. 307). See other instances referred to in the present volume, p. 258 and 263. With respect to Mr Froude's general treatment of the subject, the reader is referred to three very able articles by Professor Wiesener of Paris, in the ‘Revue des Questions historiques’ for April, July, and October 1868; and also to the preface to the second edition of the recent work of Mr Alexander McNeel Caird, ‘Mary Stuart, her Guilt or Innocence.’

² Vol. iv. 324.

tile eyes, without reproach of any kind.¹ This is a most important fact to be considered in estimating her character and disposition, and one which is too generally lost sight of. It may be admitted, notwithstanding, that if her marriage with Bothwell was a purely voluntary act, the presumption of guilt would be strong against her; but we have shown that the stories circulated at the time respecting her infatuated attachment to that personage² rest either upon hearsay or on the authority of notorious enemies. We have shown that they are contradicted by the indisputable evidence which we possess of her actual conduct both before and after her marriage. Her earnest desire to return to France after Darnley's death—a fact which we learn from the Spanish ambassador in Paris, at that time an unfriendly witness; the precarious state of her health as described by Drury, another hostile witness; her miserable condition on her wedding-day, as witnessed by Du Croc; and the still more conclusive fact that she parted from Bothwell within a month afterwards, and against his wish,—are circumstances wholly incompatible with that absorbing pas-

¹ The insinuations regarding Chatelar to be found in Knox were circulated long after the event.

² We have no contemporary description of Bothwell except from Brantôme, who describes him as "le plus laid homme et d'aussi mauvaise grace qui se pût voir" (*Des Dames illustres*, disc. iii.) Lord Hailes observes upon this picture, "As far as I can judge, Brantôme never saw Bothwell" (*Remarks on the History of Scotland*, 167). It is surprising that a writer so careful as Lord Hailes should have thus attempted to impugn the testimony of Brantôme. It is well known that that lively writer accompanied Mary to Scotland, and Bothwell was present at the first Privy Council which she held in Edinburgh—namely, on the 13th October 1561 (see Keith, ii. 104). But it is most probable that Brantôme had seen Bothwell in France long before that time.

sion with which her enemies assert she was possessed. And when we consider who these enemies were, and the overwhelming interest they had in transferring the suspicion of the king's murder from themselves to Bothwell and to her—when we consider the unfathomable craft of Murray, the unrivalled subtlety of Maitland, and the cynical contempt of all morality habitually displayed by Morton,—we need not be surprised at their success. That the true object of the marriage—namely, the ruin of Bothwell and the queen—was suspected even before it took place, we know from Drury;¹ and when we look at the formidable array of names appended to the “Ainslie” bond,² it is impossible to see how she could have avoided the snare prepared with such consummate art for her destruction. A temporary retreat to France, to which she instinctively looked³ amid the unknown perils to which she was exposed, could alone have saved her; but the implacable jealousy of the queen-mother cut off her only chance of safety.

The same lawless oligarchy which had sought, while she was in France, to deprive her of her crown—which had done its utmost to prevent her return to Scotland—which had risen in rebellion against her after her marriage with Darnley—which had plotted her destruction at the time of Riccio's murder,—at length accomplished her ruin by forcing her to marry Bothwell. And when we consider the singular forbearance which she displayed on all occasions, we are tempted to conclude that, like the foremost man of all the ancient world, whom in the magnanimity of

¹ *Ante*, vol. i. 321.

² Vol. i., Appendix K.

³ Letter of Frances de Alava, 15th March 1567; Teulet, v. 22.

her nature she certainly resembled, she fell at last, through her extreme indulgence to her vanquished enemies. If Elizabeth had been in her place, can we for a moment doubt what would have been the fate of Murray and Chatelherault, of Morton and Glencairn?

Yet in the darkest hours of her existence, even when she hailed the prospect of a scaffold as a blessed relief from her protracted sufferings, she never once expressed a doubt as to the verdict that would be finally pronounced between her and her enemies. "The theatre of the world," she reminded her judges at Fotheringay, "is wider than the realm of England." She appealed from her persecutors to the whole human race, and she has not appealed in vain. In regions uninhabited or unknown when she uttered these words—on the ice-bound shores of the Baltic, in the busy cities of the Far West—the story of her life creates as deep an interest as in the capitals of Europe; and so long as beauty and intellect, a kindly spirit in prosperity and matchless heroism in misfortune, attract the sympathies of men, this illustrious victim of sectarian violence and barbarous statecraft will ever occupy the most prominent place in the annals of her sex.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

COTTON MS. ; Caligula, c. i. fo. 198.

[This letter has been slightly singed on the outer margin. The letters or words which are thus burnt away are here placed within brackets. The words printed in *italics* are very carefully erased with the pen, and in some instances are disguised with head and tail loops, to prevent their being read; the alterations being written between the lines. The marginal marks (Ϣ) seem to have been made by Sir Robert Cotton.]

PLEASITHE it your most excellent Matie to vnderstand, that sithens our last depeche the Earle of Murraie, and his Colleagues, to occupie the time, haue put in their answeare to the Complainte exhibited by their aduerse partie. the Copie of w^{ch} answeare we send herewith to your Matie. And albeit they haue in the same touched nothinge plainely of the cause of the Murder, wherevpon they staye and suspend th[eir] proceadinge, vntill they may be resolved in their Articles proponed vnto vs, w^{ch} we sent in our last L^{res} to your Matie, yet the said Earle hath byne content privately [to] shew vs suche matteis as they haue to condempne the Q. of Scottes of the murd[er] of her husband, to the intent they wolde know of vs how your Matie, vnderstandinge t[he] same, wolde iudge of the sufficiencie of the matteis, and wheither, in your

Ma^{ites} opini[on], the same will extend to condempne the Q. of Scottes of the said murder. And so they sent vnto vs the L. of Lethington, Jhanies Makgill, Mr George Boqwhanno[n] and one other beinge a L. of the Session, w^{ch} in private and se-
 a secret de-
 clarat. of
 the matt^r
 ag. the Q.
 of Scot-
 tes.¹ create conference with vs, not as Commyssioners, as they pro-
 tested, but for our better instructiōn, afte[r] declaratiōn of
 such circumstaunces as led and induced them to vehement
 presumptio[n] to iudge her giltye of the said murder, shewed
 vnto vs a Copie of a Bande, bear[inge] date the xixth of
 Aprill. 1567, to the w^{ch} the most parte of the Lordes and
 Counsaill[le] of Scotland haue put to their handes, and, as
 they saye, more for feare then anie lykinge they had of the
 same: w^{ch} Bande conteyned ij speciall poinctes. the one [a]
 declaration of Botheilles purgation of the murder of the L.
 Darley, and the othe[r] a generall consent to his mariage
 with the Q., so farre forthe as the Lawe [and] her owne lik-
 inge shoulde allowe. And yet, in proufe that they did it not
 will[inglie], they procured a warraunt, w^{ch} was now shewed
 vnto vs, bearinge date the 19. [of] Aprill, signed with their
 Q. hand, whereby she gaue them licence to agree to th[e]
 same, affirminge that, before they had suche warraunt, there
 was none of them [who] did, or wolde set to their hand, sav-
 inge only the Earle of Huntley. Thereare was also, in the
 Copie of the Bande, a Copie of a warraunt, folowinge much to
 th[at] effect, savinge that the one did licence to do, and the
 other semed to discharge and pardon that was done: w^{ch} bare
 date the .14. of Maye. It appeared also, [on] the selfe same
 daye of the date of this Bande, beinge the .19. of Aprill, the
 Ea[rle] of Huntley was restored by Parliament. W^{ch} Parlia-
 ment was the occasiōn th[at] so manie LL. weare there
 assembled: w^{ch} beinge all invited to a Supper by Bothaill,
 weare induced after supper, more for feare then otherwise, to
 subscrib[e] to the said Band, two hundred harkebusiers
 beinge in the Courte, and abowt the Chamber doore where
 they supped, w^{ch} weare all at Bothaill's devotiōn; wh[iche] the
 said LL. so muche misliked that, the next morninge by foure
 of the Clocke, fe[w] or none of them weare lefte in the Towne,
 but departed wthovt takinge their leave. Thereare was also a

¹ This side-note is in Cecil's hand.


-!


Contracte shewed vnto vs, signed wth the Q. han[d] and also wth Bothailles, bearinge date the .5. of Aprill, written, as it is sai[d], with the Earle of Huntleyes owne hand, who wth one Thomas Heborne weare the only witnesses to the same; w^{ch} Contracte bearieth the date before Bothaille[s] purgation of the murder, whereof he was not tried nor poured before the .12. of Aprill folowinge, and also before the Processe of divorcee begonne betwen[e] Bothaill and his wief, w^{ch} was not begonne before the first of May, and y[et] with speede ended wth in eight daies, and the vngodlie mariage betwene [the] Q. and him, sollemnized the .15. of Maye after. And also, the .15. of June folowinge, the Q. her selfe was taken by her Nobilitie. The counterfeite and coulorable takinge of the Q. by Bothayll, when he carried her to Dumbar, was the .24. of Aprill, after the deathe of her husband, who was murdered the .10. of Februarie last before 1567. There was also a Con-


Quenes

tract shewed vnto vs, of the ~~Earles~~ owne hand, of the mariage to be had betwene her and Bothaill, bearinge no date, w^{ch} had not Verba de presenti, as the other had bearinge date the 5. of Aprill. It appeared also vnto vs, by two Liēs of her owne hand, that it was by her owne practize and consent that Bothaill should take her, and carry her to Dumbar, of pollicie, as the L. of Lethington told vs, because els there could be no devise in Lawe to pardon his fowle acte of the murder, affirminge that, by the Lawes of that Realme, a pardon for great Offences includeth all lesser factes, and offences, but extendith to none greater then that w^{ch} is pardoned. And therefore, except he should commit the highest offence, w^{ch} is treason, as he did in laying violent handes upon his Sovereignē, no pardon could serve to excuse him of the murder. And havinge his pardon for the Treason, it suffiseth also for the murder; a fitte pollicie for a detestable acte. After the devise of the murder was determined, as it seemed they inferred upon

by the sequeale, it *appearith vnto vs, by* a Liē of her owne hand, that there was another meane, of a more cleanelly conveyance, devised to kill the kinge. For there was a quarrell made betwixte him and the L. Robt. of Holie Rood howse, by

 carryinge of false tales betwixte them, the Q. beinge the instrument, as they saide, to bringe it to passe: w^{ch} purpose, if it had taken effect, (as it was verie likely, for the one givinge the lye to the other, they weare at daggers drawinge) it had eased them of the prosecution of the devillishe fact; w^{ch}, this takinge none effect, was afterwarde most tyrannously executed.

 Afterwarde they shewed vnto vs one horrible and longe Lre of her owne hand, as they saye, conteyninge foule matter and abhominable to be either thought of, or to be written by a Prince, with divers fonde Ballades of her owne hand; w^{ch} Lres, Ballades, and other writinges before specified, weare closed in a litle Coffe of silver and gilte, heretofore geaven by her to Bothaill. The said Lres and Ballades do discover suche inordinate and *filthie* love betwene her and Bothaill, her loothsomnes and abhorringe of her husband that was murdered, and the *conspiracie of his death*, in suche sorte as every good and godlie man can not but detest and abhorre the same. And theis men here do constantly affirme the said Lres, and other writinges w^{ch} they produce, of her owne hand, to be of her owne hand in dede; and do offer to sweare and take their othe therevpon. *as in dede* the matter conteyned in them beinge suche as coulde hardly be invented or devised by anie other then by her selfe; for that they discourse of some thinges w^{ch} weare vnknownen to anie other, then to her selfe, and Bothaill *dothe the rather perswade vs to beleve that they be in dede of her owne hand writinge*. And as it is harde to counterfeite so manie, and so longe Lres, so the matter of them, and the manner how theis men came by them, is suche, as it semethe that god (in whose sight murder and bludshed of the innocent is abhominable) wolde not permitte the same to be hidde or concealed. In a paper here inclosed we have noted to your Matie the cheif and speciall pointes of the said Lres, written (as they saye) wth her owne hand, to the intent it may please your Matie to consider of them, and so to iudge wheither the same be sufficient to convince her of the detestable crime of the murder of her husband; w^{ch} in our opinions and Consciences, if the said Lres be written with her


 hard to be avoyded
 owne hand, *as we beleve they be*, is very plaine and manifest.

Most humbly beseachinge your Ma^{tie}, that it may please the same to aduertize vs of your opinion, and iudgement therein, and to direct vs with suche speade, as to your highnes shalbe thowght convenient, how w[e] shall proceade further in this great matteir. And so for the more expedico[us] sendinge this blotted Lr̃e to your Ma^{tie} (whereof we crave pardoñ) we besech almightie god to preserve your most excellent Ma^{tie} in good healthe and longe lief, most prousperously to Reigne over vs. From your Ma^{ties} Citie of Yorke the xjth of October 1568.

Your Ma^{ties} most humble, faithfull
and obedient Subiectes

T. NORFFOLKE

T. SUSSEX

R. SADLER

Address : To the Quenes most excellent
Ma^{tie}

Endorsed by Cecil ; } The D. of Norfolk etc. to the
partially effaced. } Q. [Ma^t]^y
w^t the Er. of Murrays answ^r
and an abstract of matters [ag.]
the Q. of Scottes.

APPENDIX B.

No. 1.

*(From the Scots College in Paris, deciphered by the late
Dr Kyle.)*

Memoire de ce que le SEIGNEUR RODOLPHI a faict entendre
a la Royne.

Que sa majesté face rompre la conference d'Angleterre le plutost que faire se pourra, en cas que l'on ne faict rien apres deux audiences, et fault escrire à la Royne d'Angleterre, que puisque elle ne veult autrement, sa majesté est contente de demourer tousjours entre ses mains, et que elle donne congé à ses ambassadeurs. Cependant il faut avertir le duc et ses amys par deça quilz avisent à prendre quelque autre chemin, comme deja ilz sont resolus de faire.

Que sa Sainteté promet tout ayde possible, et de autent melieure volonté que sa majesté conjoint tousjours la religion avec l'estat, priant qu'elle continue tousjours.

Sa Sainteté a mandé au sdict, qu'en cas que sa majesté ne peult sortir par apointement de prison, deja sa Sainteté a apointé avec le Roy d'Espagne en sorte qu'il fera tout ce que Rodolphi luy mandera.

Si l'apointement ne s'acheve, il fault escrire à tous ses amys en ce reaulmè quilz ayent à ecrire ensemblement avec elle au Pape, a l'Empereur, aux Roys de France, et Espagne, comment sa majesté est indingnement traicté, et fault que le messagier soit à l'election des dicts amys, qu'il soit agreable aux princes, fidel a sa majesté, bien voulu des seyngneurs de ce pays, et surtout qu'il puyse negocier sans soubsonne. (Scipsum nominat tacite.)

Il fault remonstrer au Roy de France que la guerre par deça sera la paix en France, et que tout ce que les Huguenaults ont faict, á esté á l'instigation des Angloys, qui travailent encore, plus que jamays, pour derechef semer quelque

sedicion nouvelle, et qu'il n'y a meilleur moyen pour empechre leurs dessengs, que de leur doner des affayres à la maison.

Que s'il playst au Roy de France envoyer des hommes, le Pape contribuera à les suldoyer.

Que si le Roy de France ne veult ayder, à cause de troubles non encor bien apaysees, l'Empereur le fara sitost qu'il entendra la volonté de sa majesté et ses amys pardeça, par le moyen sudict.

Qu'il se fayet fort de porter au Roy de France la et promise de tous les amys de sa majesté pardeça, en cas qu'il s'excuse, qu'il ne seayt à qui se fier, ni avec qui joindre ses forces, ni de qui esperer assistance en Escosse, ou en Angleterre.

Que si le Roy de France vouloyt interdire le trafic aux Angloys et Escossoys, come les Roys d'Espagne et Portugal ont faict, on en auroyt la raison bientost sans coup fraper.

Hæc Rodolphus eo animo mihi dixit ut Reginae communicarem, et deinde at te scriberem, ut et Nuntius Apostolicus eadem intelligat, quod et Regina probavit.

Au reste, la Roynes vous pry de remonstrer au Nunce combien le mariage de Monsieur avec la Roynes d'Angleterre seroit au prejudice, tant de la religion Catholique, que de son droyt, à fin qu'il s'employe à le rompre.

6 Feb. 1571.

La Roynes m'a commandé vous dire que le Conte de Sussex a assuré E que Morton sera pour nous, moyenent son pardon.

La Roynes me dict qu'elle pense bien qu'il ayt des lettres pour son service aux cofres de feu mon frere; pour à quoy satisfaire, j'ay escrit et ay faict escrire, au nom de la Roynes, au doyen de Glasgo, qu'il ayt à sciler les cofres, jusques à ce que moy, ou autre, au nom de la Roynes les viene visiter.

Opinor id propter lapidem, quem scis, dictum. Regina putat eum ex hereditate Cardinalis patruï esse. Ego nolui laborare suspitione. Interea Betoun graviter fert se vel nominatam fuisse in testamento.

La Roynes a escrit pour vostre pasport, et a remis la resolution de vostre voyage, jusques à ce qu'elle ayt la response; alors je sollicitera.

Jussit Regina ut te certiore facerem Ducem Norfolciū

credere tibi non probari nuptias ; rogatque ut cum Ligons ea de re agas, scribasque per eundem, non ad Rossonsem, sed ad ipsum Ducem, ut intelligat te non esse alio animo quam ut here imperata facias ; rogandumque ne tam facile in posterum calumniatoribus aurem praebeat. 9 Feb. 1571.

[The above is anonymous. On the outside it has, in cipher, De Betoun. This paper appears to contain the substance of a communication made by Ridolphi to the Queen of Scots. It was probably drawn up by her secretary, Raullet.]

No. 2.

BISHOP LESLIE of Ross to ARCHBISHOP BEATON.

Encore que nous soyons icy en traicte si sommes nous incertains quel succes en suyva. Car il y [a] ordinairement des pratiques inventees pour nous troubler, ce que sommes deliberez d'obvier le mieux que nous pourrons ; et pour ce en toutes aventures, les lieutenans de sa majesté, et autres de ses bons et fidelles subjectz, ont envoyez icy pour nous donner amplex information des troubles de l'estat du pays, et pour le remede. Qui sont Jacques Bruce pour les Contes d'Argyll, Archeveque de St André et Sieur de Fleming, Guillaume Lesely, frere du Conte de Rothés, et Jehan Schilsome pour les Contes de Huntly, Athol, Sieurs de Lethington et Grange. Le dict Bruz s'en retournera deux jours par expres commande de sa majesté et notre advis, bien informé en toutes choses. Guillaume Lesely vous sera envoyé sitost que nous trouverons quelque poinct de consequence se presenter de notre traicte. Tout leur credit ne tend qu'a telle fin : Qu'il ne sont deliberez de rien refuser de ce qui leur est possible pour obtenir la liberte de sa dicte majesté, en consideration de la nonchalance d'autres princes à les secourir, mesmement se presentent eux memes pour pleigeiz, encore qu'ilz n'ayent envie d'abandonner l'ancienne alliance de France. Si ceste Royne d'Angleterre voioit autre chose proceder du Roy que parolles et lettres, elle adoulceroit les conditions qui sont bien

dures. Et pour ce qu'ilz voyent que malaisement le Roy voudroit entrer en guerre ouverte avec elle, ilz ont trouvé cest expedient, comme en Escosse ilz pourront estre aisement supportez sans luy donner grand ennuy et trouble. Car s'il plaisoit a sa dicte majesté d'avancer seulement cinquante mil escutz, pour l'entretenement de deux mils soldatz Escossoys par l'espace de six moys, ou mil pour l'espace d'ung an, pour demeurer a Lisleburg, les dictz lieutenans offrent de demeurer en la ville continuellement avec eux; et le dict Sieur de Granges pour sa part offre, estant asseuré d'ung ayde et secours, pour s'avancer des premiers, de s'en asseurer des Contes de Lenox et Morton, et les arrester prisonniers, ou autrement les traicter pys; et par le moyen des dictes forces, avec l'assistance de leurs amys, ilz seront suffisans se defendre d'Angleterre quelque junction qu'on sauroit faire. Ce propos cy est fort apparent a sortir son effaict s'il plaist au Roy de les ayder. Les Sieurs Evesque de Galloway, Sieur de Levis-ton et moy avons faict cet ouverteure a l'ambassadeur de sa majesté cy resident, et luy avons declarés le credit des dictes gentilzhommes. Il trouve l'ouverteure fort bonne, et a escrit au Roy le tout. La Royne m'a commande aussi de faire vous escrire à telle fin que puissiez insister, s'il est possible, de gagner ce poinct, et de communiquer le tout a monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine, et m'en escrire la response qu'on pourroit esperer en cest endroict, que je puyse asseurer la noblesse d'Escosse, car ilz n'attendent que la response. Aussi sa majesté est fort offencée que la main levée a este octroïée simplement et sans caution; car encore que la Royne d'Angleterre a fort insisté de l'avoir de sa majesté, elle ne m'a jamais permis luy octroier qu'en ces termes en donnant caution. Jusques a ceste heure que vostre frere est arrivé par commandement de sa dicte majesté, j'ay faict mon proffict le mieux que j'ay peu et ay donné a entendre a la Royne d'Angleterre que tout a été faict pour la gratyfier et a la requeste de nostre maistresse. Sa majesté m'a adverty qu'elle a este informée que c'est Mons^r Demorvilliers qui principalement a avancé la dicte main levée, et que pour cela vous en este fashé contre lui. Si ainsi est, ce n'estoit pas la deue recompance a sa majesté pour la benefice qui injustement m'a este

osté, qui n'ay rien et donne a celluy qui en a trop. Nous avons consenty a la Royne d'Angleterre que la dicte main levée ne durera pas jusques au premier jour de Mars, qui est le dernier jour de la prorogation de l'abstinence d'armes; car devant ce jour nous y esperons quelque fin. Je na fay doubte que n'ayez faict avancer d'imprimer le livre ¹ que je vous ay envoyé, de quoy je vouldrois bien estre certifie. Semblablement je n'ay rien receu de vous en chiffre ces sept ou huit moys passez, de quoy je mes merveille grandement. S'il y a quelque chose qui vous faire, je serai tres aise de la cognoistre; car je n'ay rien obmis, ne encore pour l'advenir n'obmettray d'en escrire ce qui est requis pour le service de notre dicte maistresse. Vous plaira recevoir de la noblesse d'Escosse de lettres, autres de votre pere. Sa majesté m'a commande d'en escrire a M^r Ninyen Winyet pour la venir trouver et resider pres sa dicte majesté pour son service. Car en l'extremite de sa derniere maladie, on ne pouvoit trouver personne pour luy administrer; en sorte que j'ay supplie ceste faulte comme Dieu m'a donné sa grace; et pour ce je vous prie de l'avancer.

Le vostre assureé Ross.

En Londres le xviiij^{me} Janvier

[1571 ?]

No. 3.

SECRETARY RAULET to ARCHB^p BEATON.

Je vous supplie bailler le double de cest Alphabeth aux deux freres Hamiltons pour interpreter ce que je leur ecry, changeant les caracteres du votre en communs.

ω R F q o w ? o-o ð ξ ι fo n γ ++ δ □ 4 p g k f α
o ++ fo 6 7 8 6 |·| Z □ σ 8 γ α r ω 4 4 3 z ξ 7 p
a b c d e f g h i k . l m n o p q r s t u x y z

¹ He alludes, no doubt, to his 'Defence of Queen Mary's Honour.'

Il y a certaines choses en la lettre que sa majeste escrit a Mons^r de Seton, pour luy servir d'instructions ou il doit aller, de quoy sa majeste n'a voulu que ceux qui dechifrent ses lettres ayent cognoissance; combien qu'elle ne se defie aucunement d'eux, mais l'importance est telle qu'elles ne peuvent estre trop secretes. C'est a voz despens, car il a falu que la dicte lettre soit en votre chiffre, et les discours sont ung peu longs. Sa majesté vous a faicte une ample depesche, n'estant assurée que le peu de liberté qu'elle a luy soit continué. Il n'y a que fraude en toutes les actions de la Royne d'Angleterre. Elle a faict venir Morton jouer tel personnage qu'elle a voulu. Il s'est servi soubz main des nouvelles accusations composées par Magil et Buccanan contre la Royne d'Escosse, et par ce moyen tellement couloré leurs actions qu'ils pretendent avoir gagne le consentement de plusieurs protestans a la mort de sa majeste. La conjuration de laquelle, et la perte de Dunbarton sont les fruits de la negociation de ce traicté du costé de deça; du vostre vous le voyez, et les avez provez de longue main. J'espere que sa majesté ne lairra passer telle occasion sans faire plainte en ce parlement de cest entreprise et deliberation: car il y a preuves. Pour le moins sera ce une honte a la Royne d'Angleterre. Morton *a cuy de suyvre les arres du bastard*;¹ a sa venue faisant semblant de se vouloir venger a sa majesté, et croire a ses amys. Mais personne d'eux ne s'y est fye. Il ne trouvera les choses en Escosse disposées selon son humeur: et n'auront ses praticques si grand effect entre les armes (ains que j'espere) qu'elles ont en durant la decevable abstinence. L'on dict deja que tout y est en combustion. Si nos gens sont soustenus quelque peu, j'en ay bonne esperance. La Royne d'Angleterre sera contraincte abandonner les rebelles, qui d'eux mesmes ne peuvent resister, ou y envoyer une armée; et en l'un et en l'autre cas, je ne suis destitué de bonne esperance. M. d'Ogilvy a grandement irrité sa majeste;² je ne scay qu'il en reussira.² Je vous diray seulement qu'elle

¹ I have put these words in italics, as they appear to be unintelligible; but they are correctly copied from Dr Kyle's decipher.

² Why the Queen was displeased with Lord Ogilvy at this time does not appear.

est si mal edifiée de son ingratitude et desobeissance, qu'il me semble que ce qu'avez escrit pour luy a este aussi peu agreable a sa majesté que les plainctes qu'il faisoit de vous au commencement. Je m'asseure toutes foys que vostre intention n'est toujours autre qu'en suivre celle de sa majesté, qui est la cause que je vous donne cest advis.

Sa majesté a faict bailler icy cinquante escus a Chesholme, pour aller par dela, et m'a commandé vous escrire que luy faictes bailler ce que verrez estre necessaire davantage, selon la despençe qu'il luy conviendra faire.

Sa majesté vous pryé qu'il luy soit envoyé quelque argent icy, et que ce soit par la voye de Mons^r de la Mothe, qui luy fera tenir. Il y a cinq cens soldatz qui se fortifient en la ville et en l'abbaye, lesquels sa majesté a faict lever, et fault qu'ilz soient entretenus, ou tout laisser perdu. Car s'ils n'ont moyen ilz couperont la gorge aux nostres. Il ne s'est encore rien veu par dela ny de l'argent, ny des armes de Flandres, que sa majesté avoyt ordonner a Mons^r de Seton y envoyer.

[Marked on the back, by Thomas Innes,

Q. April 1571.]


No. 4.

SECRETARY RAULET to ARCHB^p BEATON.

Ce mot ou figure Car a deux significacions en vostre chiffre, l'une pour Montmorency, l'autre pour Seigneur. Vray est qu'au myen celluy de Seigneur est ains Par, et le premier ainsi Car. Peutestre jay mis l'une pour l'autre; mais a la despeche de xii de Juing, je croy que soit entendu pour Seigneur, et que tout le propos s'y accommodera. Les minutes sont brulées, et n'ay point souvenance qu'il y a en aucun discours de Mons^r de Montmorency. Les chiffres, qui ont esté envoyez pour Mons^r de Seton, ont tousjours esté marqués ainsi S, ce qui est commun pour ceux qu'il envoie a la Roïne, et pour ceux qui luy sont envoyez de sa majesté; et

pour ceux qu'il en estoit allé et venu de semblables parmi voz packetz precedentz je ne vous en avoy donne autre. Il vous est envoyé deux chiffres pour le solliciteur, (je croy par Chesholme), marqués ainsi (W3 ◇—), et ainsi (◇—), et pour mesme consideration ne vous en donnoy point d'autre advis. Il luy estoit lors fait responce a plusieurs de ses lettres, et depuis n'en avons point reçu de nouvelles. Je prendray la hardiesse mettre icy mes humbles recommandations a sa bonne grace, ne pouvant luy écrire. Il y a cy ung chiffre pour Bothwellach, marqué ainsi ✚, que je vous supplie luy faire interpreter, et luy conseiller mettre le dechiffrement, ensemble de celui que je luy envoyay avec le token, dans le feu, de peur qu'ils tombent en mauvaise main. Ce n'est de cest heure qu'il vous plaict estre soigneux de mon bien et commodité plus que je ne merite, et me souvient de ce que Mons^r de Marmoustier de son propre mouvement vous en dict ung jour, cognoissant que m'estiez bon seigneur et amy, de quoy je luy seray toute ma vie obligé. S'il se presente quelque occasion, cela me rendra d'autant plus hardy a vous employer, et supplier ramentevoir au dict Sieur de Marmoustier la bonne volonté qu'il luy plaisoit avoir envers moy. Mais pour la sottie habitude que j'ay prise, jusques a cest heure de ne penser point a moy, ny a la viellesse qui me vient accueillir, je suis si miserable que je ne scauroy rien demander sinon en faisant, comme j'ay tousjours fait, le peu de service qui est en moy fidelement et de bonne volonté. Je vous recommande mes anquictz que j'envoyay par Chesholme, suivant lesquels je vous supplie me faire decharger. Quand l'occasion s'offrira, je voudroy estre si heureux que de vous pouvoir faire service. De Cheefield le xxviiij d'Aout.

RAULET.

Il y a deux chiffres pour Mylord Flaming, marqués de ceste figure , qui doresnavant servira pour son nom, et vous plaira l'adjouster a votre Chiffre, et pour Bothwellach, cestuy-ci ✚.

Marked outside :

Recu le xix Septembre 1571.

No. 5.

MAITLAND of LETHINGTON to ARCHB^p BEATOUN.

Monsieur. Lak of commodity of trusty bearers hes this lang tym stayit me fra wryting you, sair aganis my wil ; wherby I was not abil to informe you of the state of materis heir as I wald : quhilk (I dout nocht) hes bein na smal prejudice to the Quenis caus. I have had commodity aneuch to wryte hir majesties self, but neither to you nor Mons. de la Mothe, sen the interception of John Cheisholme, befor now. I onderstand, be her majesties wryt, scho hes sufficiently informit you of that misfortune, as also of the taking and detening of Dumbarton ; quhilk put us in a great strait, and the caus in parril of overthrow, if God had not movit us to prevent the danger with diligence, and yet it put us in a very hard cais. It is convenient you know the state of Scotland treulie as it is, quhairof you mon mak the best, be uttering or disguising sa mekle as may serve the turne, and maist move the King of France to mak support. Quhatsumever opinion we have had that a great nombre of Scotland favorit the Quene, and mislykit of her enemies, yit be experience we find bot feu that takis the mater to heart. Mony we fand that in privat conference with their friendis wad lament her caus, and be wordis profess that thai wish weil to hir majestie, and semis to mislyk the present gouvernement, but now we have put the mater that point that dead must try quha wil set forward hir caus, and quha not, we find very few quha puts thair hand to the pleuch. Feu wil mel in the caus, or dip earnestly ather to defend hir frendis, or invaid hir enemies. You knowis be the letteris and memoiris send to you in April bygane a yeir, in quhat termis we then stud, and quhat nombre of nobilmen maid sum contenance and demonstration that they wald then set furth the Quenis caus, quhilk company was dispersit til sindry placis, be the incoming of the Englisemen in May bygane a yeir ; sen quhilk tym, for na labouris culd be maid, that nombre culd never to this hour be assemblit again in a place. From the first day of September last, til a great part

of winter was past, the mater was driven under esperance of the treaty quhilke the Quene of England had in hand, and men had some houp, be hir meanes, it wald be brocht to ane accord. During that tym many gave guid wordis, bot na nombre of nobilmen culd be movit to assemble in a place. Excusis war ay foundit upon the incommodity or onseurtie of the roum to meet in; and the place that was thoct be ane end of thaim was ay found incommod for the rest. Always a general excus was for al men that, if Grange wald declair himself in the Quenis caus, thai wald al concur; for without him the mater culd not be borne out. Grange had begun resonably well with thaim lang befor; yea immediatly after Murrayis deathe. For not only at thair requisitioun, and for forderance of the Quenis caus, he put to liberty Chatellherault, Seytoun, and Herries, the Sheref of Ayr, Sir James Hamilton and myself, being al prisoners at that tyme; but also being then Provost of Edinburgh, brocht by his meanes thair assemble from Lythtquo to Edinburgh, and maid the place seur for thaim, quhilk gave a great contenance to the Quenis caus, daschit hir adversairs, and gave thair caus sic a deadly wound that, if it had not bein revivit be the forces of England, it wald then bein subvertit. For a forder declaration, quhan the Quenis enemies war al assemblit in Edinburgh to cheis Lenox Regent, though Grange was destitut of all confort of the Quenis favoraris, quha war far from him, yit he wald nather be present at thair convention for his consent to thair nomination, nor approve it, though he was earnestly preast thairto be the Quene of Inglandis agent in hir name, and inthreatenit if he did the contrary. Being equyrit to schut the gunnis of the Castle the tyme of thair proclamation of thair Regentrie, he not only refusit, but also professit in plain termis that he wald never recognos him for a lawful magistrat. Thairefter, at thair pretendit parliament, he refusit the sweird, sceptre and croun, quhairby all solemnity was kepit thairfra. Al thir heidis culd not satisfy the Quenis freindis, but or thai culd be brocht togither, he behuiffit to proceed forther, quhairby it apperit (as sensyn it has proven treu in effect) that mony socht subterfuges. Quhilk quhan he persavit, quhayras of reason thai aught to have preast him,

he was content to preas thaim, and wrait severally to every nobleman that had professed the Quene guid wil, requyring thaim to repair to Edinburgh, and he wald plainly join with thaim in the Quenis caus, & mak Edinburgh only patent to hir freindis, and debar from it hir enemies. The inferior sort of the nobility answirit, if Chatelherault quha then was in Argyle, Huntly & Argyle wald cum to Edinburgh, thai wald concur with thaim. Chatelherault and Argyle answirit, if Huntly & I, being then in the North, wald cum first to Edinburgh thai wald follow. Sua was the hail bourdin laid on Huntly & me; and at that tyme very hard for ony of us to com, the passage being so dangerous, and so haitit be our enemies, that al that evir we possessit wald not have savit us; besydis, at that same tyme, I was so diseasit in my persone, that I was nather abil to ryde nor gang. Yit knowing that, if I refusit, it wald serve for a stay to the rest, I set al danger asyd, and quhair I mycht not be careit be land, I come be sey, and almost baith at ane tyme, Huntly and I about the second of April last. Chatelherault cam as soon as he mycht. The Lord Home has bein heir thir seventeen monethis. The Lord Maxwel, Herries and Lochinvar cam at the first requisition. Argyle and Boyd cam at the twelfth of May, & eftir that thai had tareit three or four dayis, slippit away, quhai we had maist ado with thaim, we being besegit in the town, and our enemies in the Abbey and Canongait. Sensyn we saw thaim not again. Of the hail rest of the nobility, never ane hes assistet us ather with his freindis, forces, or substance, nor yit has a barron of the hail realme comit to tak our pairt at ony time, but only Lochinvar, Farnyhairst and Balcleuch. This is al the ayde we have had within the realme; and of this nombre nane remanis ordinarily, but Chatelherault, Huntly and Home. Chatelherault has ordinarily na forces, but a very quyet houshold, not twelve personis, becaus of his poverty. Huntly has nane of his freindis heir, but indeed has ane honest houshold, and is at great charges. The Lord Home is not abil to beir a great part, as Ingland inhabits his houses, and kepis that hail cuntre in subjection, and intromittis with his leving sua that al our force standis be wagit men. Thir ar earnest on the adverse part, and conjurit enemies to the

Quene; Lennox, Morton, Mar, Glencarne, Buchan, Glammis, Lyndesay, Ruthven, Methven, Cathcart, Uchiltree, Sempill. Thair concurre with thaim at al tymes, conventions & assemblies, Craufurd, Montrois, Menteyth, Master Marchel, Master of Arrol, Yester, Borthwic, Dromond. Within thir twenty dayis, Argyle, Eglintoun, Cassilis & Boyd ar aggreit with thaim, subscriyvit, & professit the young Prince obedience. Thair was ay traffik amang them, *but non ar thurtout endit*.¹ Rothis, Ogilbe, Forbes and Simmervil, though thai join not plainly with thaim as yit, in thair awin personis, yit thair freindis, and servantis obeyis al thair proclamations and cums to thair gatherings as well as the rest. Seyton Fleming & Levistoun ar out of the cuntre, quhairthrou thair tenants obeyis thaim as the rest dois. Athol kepis himself at hame, and he nor his tenants mellis with nather syd, and obeyis nather of thaim. Be this you may persave thai have ane universal obedience except within Edinburgh and a feu partis far distant thairfra. Thai intromet peaceably with the hail revenues of the croune and thriddis of beneficis; thai have besidis thair awin levingis, in thair handis, the Bischoprik and Prieure of Sanct Androis, the Bischoprik of Glascow, Dumblaine, Arbroth, Pasley, Seone, Kilwynning, Coldinghame, Haddingtoun and North Berwik, the maist of Chatellheraults leving, Flemingis and myn, quhilkis, in the hail, wil extend to a great soume be yeir, and makis thaim abil, besyd the support of Ingland, to bear great charges, and sustein mony wagit men bayth on fut and hors. Be this you juge quhat difficulte we have to beir out our quarrel, and yit we ar not a quhit discouragit nor intendis to shrink; but houppis be Goddis grace, with the King of France's support, to bring it yit to a quyet end, in despyt of al our enemeis. It is lang sen we proclamit the Quenis autorite, and be parlement, in the maist solemne manner we culd divyse, fand the pretendit dimission of croune, the coronation of hir soun, and al that followit thairupon, nul. We have haldin a parliament in hir majesties name, in this moneth, and thairin forfaltit a number of her enemeis. The parliament yit runnis, and as our adversairs intendis, within two or three dayis, to forfalt, in thair maner,

¹ Sic in the decipher.

the maist part that assistis the Quene, we intend at the same tyme to forfalt al the principallis of our enemeis. We have brocht Edinburgh to hir perfyte obedience, except sa mony as hes left it. The hail war hes bein sen Apryl, and yit continuis, betwin Leith and Edinburgh, and is brocht from all the rest of the realme to thir twa tounis. Though our adversairs had the forces of the hail realme, have them lyand in quarters and a double greater number of wagit men, yit to this hour (praisit be God) thai have not advantage of ane man of us. For if they gat, at ony scarmouche the overhand of us, God sent us a recompense within aucht dayis efter. Thai have maid great braggis thir dayis bygane, that thai suld hazard al thair lyvis, or enter in this, quhilk is sa weil fortifeit and provydit, that thai are constraint to put water in thair wyn. God knawis quhat strait we have bein in for payment of our men of weir, in quhom our strenthe consistis, besydes the charges of the Castill, quhilkis man be great, for it is the only uphold of the Quenis caus. Al the money we have yit resavit from France is only twa thousand ^hcrounis and ane thousand pistollis, quhilkis M^r James Kircaldy brocht; of quhilk sum was deducit the expensis of his voyage and transporting of the money, and a smal portion of that money Johne Cheisholme brocht, quhilk was put asyde and savit, quhan he and the rest was taken. Sua that the hail sum resavit as yit is littil nair than wald entertain the Castle thir four monethis bygane lat be to pay our men of weir. We have borrowit from merchandis, and employit the credit of al wald do for ony of us, and money is not easy to be had in Scotland presently be ony means; and if ever money had inlakit to pay the wagis, the soldartis wald incontinent mutin, and leif us, quhilk wald be our utter destruction and lose of the caus without recoverye. Thairfor I pray you remonstre to the King of France the necessite, in sik gud maner as you think is maist convenient, and wil best move him to mak substantial support, baith with money and funder as the caus requyris; and assure him, his majestie anis dipband earnestly in the cause, it wil be easye to reduce this realme to the Quenis perfyte obedience. For if the pepil sau anis a force on our syde, thai wald al leif the advers faction, and tak pairt with us, and then smal support wald serve to

maintean the caus, from tyme the pepil war fallin from thaim. Above al thingis preas that na delay be usit in sending money and men if it be possible. For we wil be put to over great extremitie, if tyme be driven; and if we be supportit, we have guid meanes to forther the action, in so far as we have this toun at command, quhilk is the principal. It wil be hard for the advers partye to gar the Session sit in ony part of Scotland, as we have stayit the clarkis thair of in Edinburgh, with the hail buikis, wryttis and processis, quhilk wil be a great hinder to thair authoritie. Though the support of the Quene be costly to the King of France, yit I think he suld not plein the expensis, if he consider that in case he leif us destitut, Scotland wil fal in the Quene of Ingland's handis, and becom at hir devotion perpetuallie. For the relief of the debt we have contractit to pay our men of weir, you wil be sa guid as answeir the merchandis of the soume deboursit be thaim at the sight of our writ. This far towart the public. For ane thing I man request you in particular, to wit, in favour of ane gentilman callit James Hamilton, sonn to Jamis Hamilton of Nelisland, quha is ane of Chatellerault's freindis and my kinnisman, to save the Abbacy of Kilwynning from Glencarne, ane of the despytful aganis the Quene and you in particular, and hes tain the said Abbay be Lennox's gift. This gentilman was provydit to Kilwynning upon supplicationis, in anno millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo primo, pridie Nonas Septembris, Pontificatus Julii tertii secundo, quhan my Lord of Kilwynning (to quhom he is brother son) was provydit to the Coadjutorye of St Androis. His bullis ar not in his handis, sua he wil lose the benefice. Heirfor I man pray you to speik to the Papis Nunce to wryt to the Court of Rome, to caus rais his bullis of neu, that the benefice may be preservit from that tratour, and quhatsoever may be bestowit thairon, you may retein sa mekil of the King of France or the Quenis moneye, that suld be send heir, and I sal caus advance als mekil heir. If it pleis you to do this at my request, besyd the common caus (quhilk it wil forder) you wil oblis me to you perpetuallie. Sua, efter my maist humil commendation, I commit you to the protection of God. From Edinburgh Castle, the xxviiij of August.

Marked on margin in ordinary characters :—

You wil gett the alphabet of this chepheir be ane uthair moyen.

Addressed :—

To my vearay good Lorde, my Lord Archbischope of Glasgow, Ambassador for the Q. Matie, resident in the Court of France.

And marked :—

Rec^d, the first of October, 1571.

No. 6.

SECRETARY RAULET to ARCHBP. BEATON.

Je vous supplie diversifier vostre chiffre en ceste sorte. Changez ω τ avec $n\ddagger$, item or avec E_8 , item $b d$ avec e_5 , item 4 11 avec 97 , item : avec ? , item g avec $||$. J'ay grand peur que le trop de suffisance de quelcun soit cause de son mal, et du nostre. C'est pitie quand la cupidité de gloyre nous precipite a une ostentation abortive, et une miserable condition de ceux qui ont a faire a telles gens. J'ay mainte fois esté tencé, depuis mon retour, pour avoir trop bien deviné. Plust a Dieu que l'opinion fust confirmée que ce que j'en disoy n'estoit que pour revanche des tortz qu'il m'avoit faitz : et Dieu m'est temoing du contraire. Je crain aussi que celluy, dont l'ambition et folie est si grande, de pretendre plus haut qu'il ne doibt, ayt seconde la trahison du monstre son frere, a l'endroit du Seigneur qui est en peine pour nous, et qu'il a fait descouvrir l'argent. Il scayt trop de nos affaires, et est capable de faire beaucoup de mal. La principale occasion de son premier voyage estoit pour traverser les desseings du dict Sieur. Je croy que cestuy cy est de mesme, et que la religion luy ay doublé son mal talent. Il a en congé, a ce voyage par deux fois, de venir icy, qui est une grande faveur, mesmes a la derniere. Car il n'estoit permys a la Roynie, ny d'escrire,

ny de recevoir aucunes lettres que par les mains de ses gardes, ny de parler aux messagers qu'en leur presence. Mais cestuy cy a en toute liberté, et telle marchandise ne se donne pour rien en ce temps cy. Burleigh est grand changeur de telles dinrees. Je vous supplie conseiller le gentilhomme qui appartient au susdict Seigneur, et luy donne bonne espérance. Mons^r de la Mothe nous mande que ce ne sera rien. Son chiffre changé n'a encore esté en autre main que la myenne, et me peut seurement ecrire. Si je suis chassé apres les autres, je le larray¹ a la Royne. L'autre commung est décélé, et entre les mains de la Royne d'Angleterre, comme je croy que avez entendu. De Cheefield le xx Septembre, Raullet votre obeissant et tres affectionné serviteur.

Marked outside :

Recu, le xiiij^{me} d'Octobre, 1571. M^r Leviston.

No. 7.

LORD SETON to ARCHB^d. BEATON.

Monseigneur, j'ay resceu vostre lettre datée du second de ce mois a Paris, par laquelle j'entends encores qu'estes en peine du chiffre, que m'avez envoyé, s'il est a moy ou non. Monseigneur, je m'eusse tenu bien pour lourdau de le retenir si long temps entre mes mains, s'il ne fust este a moy. Par quoy vous ne vous en donnerez de paine, s'il vous plait. Mon filz eust este vers vostre service ja passé cinq semaines, n'eust este une fievre qu'il at eue, qui luy tient encores, et ay grand paour qu'il ne tombe en la fievre quarte, qui est cause de son retardement, et grand ennuy a moy de n'avoir peu partir pour aller ou que seavez, et pour le present resolu de me partir, et le laisser icy tant qu'il soit guerry pour vous aller trouver. Nous avons eu de nouvelles tant confortables d'Escosse de la defaite de Sterling, et prinse du prince, qui nous resjouist tant icy, que nous panssons jamais avoir mauvais temps cy après. Je scay fort bien qu'avez entendu la

¹ Probably a contraction for "laisserai."

malheureuse prinse du Duc de Nortfolc, qui me garde vous escripre plus avant. Monseigneur, n'ayant aultre matire vous escripre, vous baisera humblement les mains, vous suppliant me commander, comme a celluy qui desire vous estre toute sa vie tres obeissant, et d'aussi bonné volonté que je prie Dieu qu'il vous doinct, Monseigneur, en bonne santé et longue vie. De Bruxelles, le xxj jour de Septembre, 1571.

Vostre humble amy frere et serviteur

SETON.

Addressed :

A Monsieur Monsieur le Reverendissime Archevesque de Glasgo, Ambassadeur pour sa Royne ma Souveraine aupres du Roy tres Chretien. En Court.

No. 8.

to ARCHB^p. BEATON.

L.F.¹ The 22 of this moneth I received your good Lordship's letter of the 9 of this present, & for hast of this messenger, I have no further leysure but to say that, by the Bisshop of Rosses oune letter wryten to a greate man here, dated at Paris in December, yt appeareth that he hath bine there, & was determined to passe further, I nede not tel your Lordship whyther, synce you thinke not good to be acknowen to me of his beyng there

Touching your Lordship's affirmation that & have so little affection to the Hameltons as to the Stewards, howsoever your pleasure is to be acknowen of no more to me, yet I assure myselfe your wysdom is to great to be of that opinion. The reasons are so many, so evident, and so many wayes confirmed by theyr dayly dedes and accions, that I finde none of any nation that seeth yt not: and therfor your Lordship wyl pardon me though I thinke you say this for some other pollicy, and that yourselfe looketh to se yt fal out otherwyse. God preserve your good Lordship in al honor, as

¹ Query, Lord Fleming.

I am bounde to pray for. The 25 of January, at Mackeline.
Yours ever to commande assuredly.

Marked outside :

Rec^d, the thryd of February, 1574.

No. 9.

[To the letter of Q. MARY to ARCHB. BEATON, "Sans date (Juin 1574)," entered in Prince Labanoff's work, vol. iv. p. 176, is the following postscript, not published by him:]

; elle est froyde.

Le reste est de moy, pour vous dire que je vous ay ecrit aujourd'hui bien au long; mais je crains que mes lettres ne viennent a bonne part. Je suis accusé de là, et sobsonné icy; mais Dieu aydant, je ne meriteray ny l'un ny l'autre. Sa majeste a voullu veoir mes lettres, mais je ne les eusse sceu monstrier entieres, et m'acquitter de mon debvoyr envers vous. et parce je vous prie de brusler mes lettres, et m' y mander en quelles termes vous vouldrez que je vous ecrive cy après. Ce 3. de ï et Dieu soyt avec vous.

[Written by Mr Beaton, the Archbishop's brother, and enclosing the following paper:]

—— BEATON to ARCHB^r. BEATON.

Monsieur, d'autant que sa majesté vous ecrit bien amplement, il ne me reste sinon ce a qui sa majeste n'a respondu. Sa majesté receut vos lettres du 4: de ï en double forme, et du 4: de ĩ, environ d: de ā; et si elles eussent peu estre leues sans moy, je n'eusse sceu autre chose, mais ne scachant comment s'en ayder autrement, elles me furent donnes ĩ; du dict ā. J'ay rendu bonne compte du tout a sa majesté, comme vous cognoystres par ses lettres. Miraumont n'est apparu pardeça, ny ses lettres aussy, s'il vient j'auray bonne souvenance de ce que me vous commandes. Mons^r de Rosse a

bien le moyen de vous enseingner a qui vous poves envoyer vos lettres a Londres, s'il veut, sans vous mettre en peine de hazarder des voyes dangereuses. Sa majesté ne veut continuer le moyen de vous escrire par moy, comme ell vous escrit. Car sa majesté dict que souvent se presenteront de discours si longe que sa majesté ne les pourra ecrire de sa main. Je vouldroy que vous eussies escrit a sa majesté et non à moy ; car sa majesté pense que je vous ay conseille de m'ecrire ainsi, a fin que par mesme moyen, j'entendis plus de ses affaires ; et parceque je n'ay voullu faire autre instance. Je vous prie ecrivez a sa majesté votre intention. Je ne refuse nul labeur, mais que ce soit a votre contentement, plus pour le plaisir que je recepveroys d'avoyr par foys de vos nouvelles, que pour estre trop curieux de scavoir l'estat des affaires de sa majesté. Car je m'estimeray heureux d'ignorer le χ de mon prince et α : alors que les affaires de plus grande consequence sont communiqués a des petits compaignons : d'autant que, si quelque chose vient a estre divulgué temerairement, on ne prend souvent aux plus innocens. Encores je suis bien marry de n'avoir jamais sceu de vos affaires, depuys troys ans, pour le regret que j'ay de ne vous avoir donne aucun advertissement de ce qui vous est tourné a tel deplaisir et domage, et a mon deshonneur, si j'estois coupable de ce dont on m'accuse. Monsieur, il me suffit que vous ne croyes ceste imposture. Je me suis justifié envers sa majesté ; monstrant la copie des articles de ma commission écrite a La Ferte l'an mil cinq cent septante en Decembre. Alors, je demandois en votre nom, pour le grand regret que vous avies de la mort de feu Mons de Betoun, mon frere, qui fut opprimé par telles calomnies, et vous mesme faulsement accusé de déloyauté, joint a l'extreme necessité en laquelle vous esties, qu'il pleust a sa majesté vous faire donner pasport pour venir rendre compte de votre negociation, et puis vous permettre de vous retirer en votre maison, pour vivre hors des yeulx de ceux qui vous calomnioient en votre charge : a quoy j'ay adjousté que dés alors sa majesté me dict qu'elle vous satisfayroyt de telle sorte que vous lesseries ceste resolution, et qu'elle adviseroit a vous ayder du sien. J'ay appelé Dieu a temoingne, et la conscience de sa majesté, que ny des lors, ny depuys, ny par

votre commandement, ny de moymesme je ne parlay jamais a sa majesté de sa chancellerie. J'ay prié sa majesté de considerer si sa promesse ne convient pas bien avec ce que m'écrivez maintenant de ce que sa majesté vous a écrit en 2, il a troys ans, et sa majesté m'a juré que jamais elle ne vous a écrit telles lettres ; et pour ce, si elles sont extantes, je vous prie les garder. Je n'ay rien voulu disputer de la suffisance de votre successeur, car nous sommes du tout persuadés que beaucoup de belles parolles doyvent produire des montagnes d'or. Quant est a feu mon frere, je n'ay faict difficulté de dire que ce ne sont offices de Christiens d'accuser les mors, nommément un si homme de bien, et un si bon frere en son vivant, et a la parolle de sa majesté j'ay apperçu que ceste imposture ne fut jamais forgé aux cerveau de sa majesté, non plus que l'autre. Sa Majesté persiste en ce que vous aves recommandé par vos lettres, du Verger. J'ay demandé les veoyre pour vous en advertir en cas que l'eussies oublié ; mais ce sont fables. Ce que je vous prie bien humblement de poyser, Monsieur, et penser que ce n'est merveilles si on accuse les prisonniers et les mors, puy qu'on vous accuse devant vous mesme, vous constituant, contre toute forme de justice, le criminel et le juge. Voyla ce que je vous puy mander des responses de sa majesté. J'ay dechifré l'une des lettres de Mons^r le Cardinal, et entends que sa maje té en fait bien peu de compte, comme vous cognoystres par sa response. Sa majesté m'a dict secretement que c'est pour luy que tout le jeu se joue, mais qu'elle ne le veult dire publiquement. Car il disposoit trop liberalement de son bien, sans que ceux qui estoient pourvus se sentissent obligés a sa m^a esté ; et pour ce que sa majeste scavoit bien que vous series tousjours contraint de faire tout a son plaisir, elle a choysy un homme qui ne recognoystra que sa majesté seule. Quant est a ce que m'écrivez privement et de votre main, et de la Q d'icelles, ce a este une grande accession aux ennuyes que ceste captivité m'a apporté. Je suis bien de votre opinion, que les plus dignes ne seront jamais les mieux recogneux par deça. Je l'ay experimenté a mes despens, et ay pensé mil foys qu'ilz sont plus heureux pour ceste court qui ont suyvy les batel-eurs que non pas les bonnes escolles. Je vous ecrirai quelque

jour plus au long de ma fortune. Je ne sçai quelle part j'ay par dela, mais icy il me convient endurer mil indignités. Encores, pour bien, ou pour mal, je n'ay jamais en autre opinion que d'attendre la fortune de sa majesté, telle que Dieu l'envoyeroit, tant pour en cela rendre le debvoir d'un homme de bien a ma souverainne, que pensant aussy vous faire service agréable. Mais enfin, je me suys rendu si sub-ject par benevolence, que maintenant par force on me veut faire suyvre le mesme chemin. Brief pour estre le bien venu icy, il fault sçavoir menasser, et murmurer, et hors d'icy il fault sçavoir aussy bien faire un meschant tour pour estre craint, que quelque bonne service pour estre aymé. Quant a Mons^r Hotoman, il n'estoit requys d'attendre autre advis de moy. Je vous prie faites comme pour vous mesmes et votre commodité, pour vous en servir et du proffit et du principal et de moy tout ensemble, en vostre besoing. Mais puyisque demandes mon opinion, je scay que le sort ne se peut repeter de la maison de ville, quand on voudroit, ce qui pourroit estre necessaire quelque jour; et entre marchans et personnes privées, je ne sache homme en France de sa robe, a qui je me voulluz fier tant, qu'en Mons^r Hottoman. Au reste, Monsieur, entre tous mes ennuy, ce n'a pas esté le dernier que je n'ay jamais peu entendre vos nouvelles, ny vous ecrire librement des miennes, depuys que je suis icy. Sa majesté, ayant veu celles que je receu par Halle, sobsonna que je ne faudroys a m'excuser en ce qui m'estoit imposé, et par ce voullut veoir mes lettres, et me constraint a les reformer non qu'il y eut aucune chose indigne de moy, mais par ce que la verité me commandoit ecrire tout le contraire de ce qui avoit ecrit par avant, au nom de sa majesté. Mais puisque sa majesté ne veut que j'entends de vos affaires par son moyen, je vous prie humblement, a l'advenir, de m'advertir privement de ce que vous penseres m'importer, et je me revancheray par tout humble service, si en quelque chose je vous puy agréer. Monsieur, je n'ignorerai jamais mon debvoir vers sa majesté, mais je ne la penseray jamais offenser aussi pour rendre ce que vous doybs. Si c'estoit le plesir de Dieu, je vous voudroy voire une fois encore en ma vie, et si ce n'est dans un an et jour, mon esperance, a ce que je puy estimer, sera vaine.

Car il ne me fauldroyt pas beaucoup de telles hyvers que ceste derniere passée a esté. Il y a bien huit mois que je n'ay jamais en troys jours de santé, et si mon mal est confirmé, de sorte que je n'espere rien mieux en ceste prison, je ne me laisse de tenir le lieu que je tiens icy. Dieu me soit temoing; mais je me vouldrois reserver a meilleur temps, si faire se pouvoit; neantmoins, mon epitaphe temoignera peut estre cy apres que le service de sa majesté m'aura esté plus cherre que mon bien, ma liberté, et ma vie. L'assurance que j'ay que vous brusleres mes lettres, comme j'ay fait des vôtres, m'a donne la hardiesse de vous parler franchement. n: Seigneur Jesus Christ vous doint tout bonheur et felicité, et a nous quelque esperance de liberté.

Marked outside :

Recu, le iiij^e Juillet, 1574. Par Sabran.

No. 10.

Mr BEATOUN to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

Monsieur, Neantmoins que sa majesté ayt respondu a vos lettres du jour de la Pentecoste, et du ce de si amplement qu'il ne me reste que vous escrire, si est que j'ay bien voullu adjouster que sa majesté me dist, ayant leu vostre advis sur la negotiation du Capitaine Leith, qu'elle estoit bien ayse d'entendre que la France commençoyt a se destromper des impostures d'Angleterre, et que vous auriez bien de quoy rementovoyr a leurs majestés tres Christiennes les advises du temps passé, dont on faisoit si peu de compte. La conclusion de celle du jour de la Pentecoste est plain, e de bonne esperance. Dieu veulle que le fruit respond a icelle. Sa majesté m'a monstré la lettre que Raullet vouloit escrire au Cardinal de Lorraine, et neantmoins que j'ay tousjours fait estat de meriter vostre bonne grace par autre moyen que par mesdire et rapporter d'autrui, je ne penseray cependant offenser le debvoyr de Chrestien, et homme de bien, de vous faire part de ce que j'ay leu et veu, escrit de sa main au n: de :

Cependant, pour ne vous importuner, je me contenteray de vous toucher deux articles. L'un est qu'il vouloit que sa majesté escrivist au Cardinal de Lorraine que vous avies negligé des advertissementz qui n'importoyent de rien moins que de la vie de sa Majesté, d'autant qu'il alloit de vostre particulier. Je ne scay de quelle chimere il veule parler. L'autre estoit que sa majesté désiroit avoyr intelligence directement avec le Cardinal de Lorraine pour reprimer vostre arrogance, qui presume la tenir en tutele, et ne luy faire autre part des nouvelles de ses amys que telles que bon vous semble. Je ne scay qui l'a irrité, si ce n'est sa conscience ; mais il est outrageusement medisant. Il dist, à ce que sa majesté m'a fait entendre, qu'il a bien de quoy faire engrager le triumvirat, parlant de vous *L* et Lalendoze. Il dist que vous autres ambassadeurs n'estes que espions, et que s'il estoit par dela, il feroit plus de service a sa majesté en un jour que vous ne faites en six ans. Cependant le pauvre homme est malade, de sorte que pour la charité Chrestienne, tant que sommes icy, nous avons pitie de luy. Il dissimule avec moy, et je ne fais semblant de rien sçavoyr. Encores ce jourdhuy il m'a parlé bien honnestement de vous, et moy a luy non d'autre chose que de sa santé. Quand il demandait si importunement mon chiffre, sa majesté m'advisa de respondre que j'avoys tousjours servi en reputation d'homme de bien, et que je ne servioys jamais roy ny royne au prix d'estre sobsonné pour autre. Je demanday davantage si c'estoit vous ou moy que sa majesté sobsonnoit ? Et de ceste question il demeura bien fort estonné. Au reste, Monseigneur, vous verrés, par une lettre ouverte de sa majesté, quelle consideration sa majeste a sur vostre estat present. Je suis bien marry de ne vous pouvoyr ayder ny servir en rien. Je vous ay escrit mil foys que ce qui est a moy est a vous, et pleust à Dieu que vous vous puissiez ayder en vendant tout ce que j'ay en Escosse. Sa majesté vous advertit des nouvelles d'Angleterre, et par ce je ne vous diray sinon que *d* et *l* commencent fort de s'aignir l'un contre l'autre. Cependant, on dist qu'ilz s'accorderont assez bien en ce qui nous pourra nuire. L'orloge que sa majesté demandoit estoit pour M. de Seton ; je vous prie que le faciez faire. Elle desyre un tel

que le vostre, avec un reveil matin à part, qui se puyssie mettre quand l'on voudra. L'escuyer m'a prié vous remercier d'avoyr en ses affaires recommandés. Il dist que Monsieur Duverger a procuration bien ample de luy; cependant il vous escrira par la premiere despesche ouverte que sa majeste fera. Plusieurs seigneurs et gentilshommes se retirent d'icy. Les affaires sont gouvernés par des hommes nouveaux, et l'ancienne noblesse est fort mal edifié de l'estat present. Pour conclusion, Monseigneur, le jour que Monsieur Duverger partit d'icy, en or et argent monoye, je n'avoys que septante cinq escus. Je n'ay pas este trop mauvais menager despuys, ayant presté de cela a Hamilton. Si vous pouvez envoyer quelcun des vostres par deça, suyvant l'advis de sa majesté, vous me ferez, s'il vous plaist, tel support que vos affaires le permetront. Je vous prie que ce soit Guillaume Walcar. L'intelligence que sa majesté vous veult donner c'est un gentilhomme qui fut prattiqué par fu mon frere Monsieur de Betoun. Archibald Betoun me le fait cognoystre, et je l'ay tousjours entretenu comme j'ay peu. C'est un homme de qui ce peult dire, *il nostro amico, e non della fortuna*. Ecrivez moy, si vous plaist, la reception de mes lttres, surtout de celles du 5: de I. J'estois alors en grande paine, craignant que sa majeste ne me velleust en bon esent oster le moyen de vous escrire; depuis sa majesté, voyant la malice de l'homme, m'a fait ce bien de m'assurer, me mettant la parolle en ma bouche pour me defendre. J'ay escrit par Halle à mon cousin de Betoun pour avoyr n: de burat de soie pour M. de Seton. Je vous prie pour l'honneur de Dieu me faire ce bien de me l'envoyer avec les premieres hardes que vous enverres a sa majesté, en cas que je ne le puyssie avoir par la voye susdict. Non plus, Monseigneur, sinon que n: vous donner heur et felicité en present et a l'advenir. De Chefeld ce 2: de 4. Vostre tres humble et tres affectionné frere et serviteur de Betoun. Sa majesté vous envoie presentement lettres de sa main au 1, pour vous autoriser en attendant le moyen de vous expedier une nouvelle commission.

Marked on the back:

Recu, le iiij Sept^r, 1574 par Vassal a Lyon.

No. 11.

M^r BEATOUN of Balfour to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

Monsieur, je vous escript in ye monaiths of Julie & Agust advertist be ye Lord Saton ye resavit my writings, fra ye Capitain of Calais, ane uthir to the Den of Glasgo, the thred to the Ladie Fairnihaist. Non obstant of my lait remonstrans of this voyadge, maid be Morton, he hais doun the samin for ane occasion, as within schort tym I am abil to mak you treu advertisment. Morton was informit of ane conspiracie conjurit aganis him in this cuntré be Ingland ; he knawis the parsonis, douis mak thaim al ane fair faice, & is to handil the mater to thair panis. I am in hand to gait treu intelligence of his proceedings, and abil with tym to obtain licens & reteir myself, supos I was aisalie persuadit be frendis to reteir myself heir, quhair ye sal be instrukit of sic efaris as I kan nocht put in writ. Le 28 de Septembre I gat presence and speiche of Morton in Lochlevn, obtenit ane main anseur. Quo die, Balfour, Seton, Heriot, archeirs of the gard war examinait, altogither traitours to thair maister the King, spak to the advantage of his enemis, & eschaipin of the Duke of Alançon. Give thai haid ben trustie, I lukit for sum word fra you ; but thai all pat me in despair, declarin of your deadlie seiknes. I dout nocht bot your wisdom hais considerit my writing I send be the Den of Glasgo moien, quhairin I maid mention quhou the tiran may be brocht to the King of Frans & our maistres devotion, ane mater hard to cridit, bot it beand secretlie handilit, I sal expon my lif to bring it to pas. This ye man bewar of thaim ye mak participant of ye mater. Ingland is fairit & suspektis al man. And consider it be your wisdom. His substans al insfortar is presentlie in his handis, togither wit the quenis joules,¹ quhilkis may be moien rather obtenit than be force. And at the present contrivit to submit himself to the weil of Ingland, haifand na uthir subterfudg. Seand the tym sa dangerous, *salutem ex inimicis* mon be socht. Give ye think the cours to be run, I writ of befor, haist me ansur ; & give thankis to Schir James Balfour, for I hop he sal be the

¹ Jewels. The spelling in this and the following letters is curious.

occasion of my deliverans : & with Godis grace ye sal find materis succedd to your contentiment.' De ceste affaire je ne veulx plus dire, me remettant a vostre judgement. Thair is ane Inglisman calit David Sontobe heir & remain agent ; Robert & James Mailings are grit with him ; to the quhilk I am additit for thair gud weilis. Pourquoy je vous prie to recognos the sam to thair bruthir Andrew & John Chesolme : it weil caus the brethir conteneu thair amitie, and mak me participant of the weil of Ingland, at quhais instans and thais traitours I writ of befor, I am detenit & was maid prisonair. Thair was ane convention laitlie held in Stirling, in the quhilk Morton's, Arbroth's & his bruthir's deth was conspirit, and there be certain nobilmen, quhilkis durst nocht compeir person-alie thamsalfis, bot be commisioneirs. To this ye Ministers, & bourows convenit ; amangis tham concludit the sur kepin of the prince, the vondication of Murai's & Lenox murthir. The mater is discoverit. Quhat sal folow, as maters takis efek, ye sal be advertist. Morton, Huntlie and Hamilton ar bandit & confedir in sort as the Wardin of laird Adame was movis.¹ Je ne puis retirer et ne melle ne de Argyll, Arbroth, Saton, de belle parolle, rien oultre. Je vous recommand le pouvoir Ladie Argil quhai hais laift nathing onspendit in the law, and justice stopit ; it war ane meritorious turn to reteir ansur fra the Quen, al scho haid is spendit. The tiran contenuis in his rigour aganis Fairnihaist. Je vous prie to hald maister James Irving besines in ramembrans. Je suis fort obligé a luy. Si vous plaist d'escripre ung mot de lettre a Mons^r de Wemis, quhai standis frendlie to al you partenis. Now, my Lord, gif my servis and advertisiment be agreabil, doutes nocht bot ye haif maid ye Quen participant hopes sa far in God that he weil inclin hir hart to suport me now in my aid-lit days, and gif me moyen to end my lyf in that cuntrie. For to mak me the king of the world wald I remain heir, for consciens caus, contrinit to gif airis to abbomination contrair God & his Kirk. Your sister's dochter is nocht transportit, nor yet ane inventeur tain of umquhil your bruthirs geir. It stud nocht in me. George Douglas is opon his pairtein ; hais obtenit Mortonis suplication to pas trocht Ingland. He is

¹ *Sic* in decipher.

ane grit courtiour. I desir you anes agen to bewar wyth your auld man Jhon Levingston, quha is altogitheir the tiranis. I was desirit be ane faithful frend to advertis you lik as I deid; input na fault bot ye gait oftes of my writings; I spair nother panis nor expensis, as God is judge. Thair is sum secreit misterei in hand, as yet I kan nocht, but scortlie sal mak you to be informit. Thai frendis I confidit in drew me heir for thair awyn comoditie; man tak patiens quhil God provid, to quhais protection I comit you now & evir. Writing, the twelt of October, be your maist humbil servand BETHUNE. Vostre bieng bonne amye pour vous faire servis

JEHANE DE LA RUE.

No. 12.

M^r BEATOUN of Balfour to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

I resavit your letter daitit at Paris the saxt of September, withane to the Lord Seton, ane uthir to Irving, the secund of this instant, & mervelit that you send nocht ansur of certaine porpos the Den of Glasgo & I writ to you in the moneth of Julie anentis Mortonis mind & intention,¹ the quhilk he hais maid onlie Schir James Balfour previe. War noc at the assur-
anse we haif that thai ar cum to your handis, I wald writ of new. Alwais thai desir ansur with grit devotion. Of this I may assur you, that thair is na man apou lif, exce^t the tiraine, Schir James the sen & I yit kennis our intencion, bot ye, & that be our writing. For it is bot feir onlie that causis him depend apou Ingland, & wald be glaid to enteir in frendship with the King and parforme al he culd or micht, with that the mater be secretlie handillit. Ingland fairris al man, and suspakis al man cummin furth of Frans. Wantand judgment in sik hicht affairis, submitis and referis the mater to your wisdom. Fordir ye may be assurit the prince to be in na dangeir, I men for present ocasion, to be put to the fieldis, nor yit deliveret to Ingland. In the main tym I feir the tirane to geit him in his handis. Of this yo may be assurit the Arskinis,

¹ He alludes to the overtures made about this time by Morton to the Queen of Scots. See a full explanation in the letter of Lord Ogilvie, p. 539.

nor nain dependis apon thaim to be worth ane denier. Thair is quhilkis, for thair particulair avansiment, causis men beleif that thai menit nevir perform, nocht wythstandin of thair promes maid to you and the Cardinal of Loran. Tim weil try elk mannis upricht dailing. Thair is monie baronis weil mindit, few to put onie thing to execution. As for erlis & lordis, altogether fals. I culd weil dou servis with that it wald plais you send me your mind and instructionis. I suld us the sam as I saw the tim. Quhairas ye mak mention that thair is na silvir to be haid for na mannis ententement, without asurans that the prence be nocht rendirrit in Ingland; for my pairt, God is judge, I desir nain. For it I douis for the Quenis and yours servis, gif it be fund agreabil to hir and you, I dout nocht bot ye weil craif me recompans, as I merit. The contentis of your writing sal be fulfilit. The inventeur of your umquhil brutheris geir send with the first comoditie. Sen this last defaict in Frans, the tiraine has taine up his gard. Capitan Wemis, that mareit your Sister, is mindit to cum in Frans, as I am informit, nocht withstandin of my remonstranis maid in the contrair to your sisteir. Scho is the persuader of him thairto. Balfour & Melgum ar appontit apon the silveir was gevin for my mais-ter's blud. Ye plais writ gentlie to the laird of Lundie, quhai hais declarit to me that he hais ane blank of yours, quhilk ye left in his faidirs handis. He hais maid me half ane grant; alweis I think your writing necessair.

The bridail of Angus and Roth's dochter beis the 18 day of December; supomit that Wems & he sal agrie. In lyk maner Carmichael past na forder nor York, supomit for the Quen of Inglandis seiknes. Haifand na lasair, can nocht writ at the present as I wald. Maist humblie prais you to send the Den & me anseur of our formeir writings; for I am in esperance that we haif proponit sal tak gud success. Anentis the Hamiltonis & Arbroth, seand na uthir outgate war contrinit to appont for my Lord Claud. I weil, apon my lyf, anseur for his fedilitie and lawtie. The mariadge is nocht hastilie tak effick betwix Arbroth and Lady Bukeluch. I writ at mair lainth with my cusing James Foster in the moneth of October. Lukis with great devotion for anseur. I pray God to manten your honor & to grant me grace to dou you agreabil service.

At Sanct Andreus, the twentie of November, be your maist
humble & obedeant servand.

BETHUNE.

Let my Lord Ogilvie ken that his business of Fairnol sal
nocht be forget, gif my Ladie Argyl cum to her intent, as thair
is gud appareans.

No. 13.

Mr BEATON of Balfour to ARCHB. BEATON.

This uthir letter beand writing in gryt haist, the beirrair
beand departit, chanssit for sum occasion that presentit to
cum to Edinbrocht, quhair I did ranconteir this beirraire; sa
haiffand short lasair, writ thir few lynis, and to falyou furth
quhow I haif procedit be frinds avicies the consall and opinion
I did schaw to my ants Janet & Katherin, and to my niece
Jene. Sen this first letter, the Den of Glasgow & I hais
apointit to mak ane inventeur of your brutheris coffairis,
quhilk scortlie sal be send to you. Thair hais chansit laitlie
for nowiles my Lord Regentis G. beand in Dunfrice, accom-
panied wyth diverss nobillmen, amangis uthyr s my Lord of
Arbroth, Lord Boyd, Sr James Hammiltoun, quhais eldest
soun that mariet my Lord Boydis dochtyr, accompanied wyth
tway youngier brethyr, and ane gud nombir of taen, thocht to
haif surprisit ye castell of Draiffain, & myst the samyng un-
roullie hymself hurt and all his companie in will of the
Capatain, quhai ussit thaim gentillie. Efter the word come to
my Lord Regentis G., Sr James maid his purgeing to my Lord
of Arbroth declairrit his innocencie. Quhait sal falyou I am
uncertain. In the main tym my Lord Claud is apou his gairdis
& hais mannit the castell of Hammiltoun. It is supponit
this enterpryce was nocht by my Lord Boydis advice. For the
haillevidentis & jowellis that pertenis the hous of Hammilton
was thair. Boyd wald be at Arrane, & hais court at weil. As
maters takis effek, ye sal be advertisit. In the main tym, I sal
travail with my Lord Claud, quhai is wys & constant; my
Lord of Galloway is decessit; and at this present na esperans

of lyf to my Lord of Angus. I man maist hartlie pray you to send me anseur of sum writing I send to you in the moneith of Agust anentis certaine tryfillis, and, in special, resolution of dailing wyth that court, wyth the quhilk the tiran wald enter in familiaratie, gif it be thocht gud to you, and ye plais mak me participant of your intention thairanent. I sal los my lyf an maters succeed nocht to your contentiment, beand secreitlie handilit. Failyeand, lat al ly deid; for na man kanis ye mater bot Schir James, the Den & I. Your wisdom plais put silence to me anentis the premisis, or elles your opinion & consal, ye may be assurit of me; and becaus I can gyf na anseur, it is judgeit that ye gyf na trust to nabodie in this parteis. Send alwais to the Den, that onie ane of us may thank Schir James. Al your graith in thir parteis is weil, excep samekil as that tratour Minto disponit apon. I am desirit to requir your honor of the gift of the mariadge of Castilmilk, in despit of Minto. Thair is favoris promissit me thairanent. As to the gift maid to you, I haif it, as quhair your of Condeland, sche hais demittit the assignation ye maid to hir, quhair she mareit Condeland, ondirstandand your will heiranent; & gyf I obtien onie thing, it sal be to your awyne us as rason wald. In that I craif, c'est seulment de avoyr me revenge de that trateur Minto, quhai tuk ane gift of the trateur Murray. I weil nocht forder trubill you, but I dout nocht or this present comis that ye haif ressavit cheiss & salmond, and laring sal be send in deu tym. Let all my cognossans ressa f my commendationis, nocht forgeittand your awyn pairt, and excuss my schort & haistie writings; ye knaw my imperfection & ineptitud.¹ Tak alwais gud weil in payment. I pray God to grant you hes grace wyth full contentiment, as I desyr for myself. Writing of Leith, the xxvij of November 1575.

It is mervellit heir with manie quhou that pestilent trateur Drisdail is sufferit thair, ane daily writair of lies, in sort as he passes Cokborn. Advise quhat ordour ye weil haif tain with the goldin chalice and the silver wark, that is in Fintrie's handis sormontand to trtie stane. In al ye wald I deid writ at lainth, weil God, ye sal find nathing oursen. I am to pas to

¹ He uses various words which, from the strange spelling, it is impossible to make out.

Fintrie for ordour takin with your niepce. Au surplus I fair
Melgum sal bair awai Lucrice.

No. 14.

Mr BEATOUN of Balfour to ARCHB^d. BEATOUN.

You sal heir rasave the inventeur of the hail geir uychtin
your umqhil brodiris, coferis, wrytingis & buikis being except.
As to the wrytingis, Fentre, Condiland & I put tham in aue
bonnet cais twa yeir syn, onsein be ony body, and lokit it
suirly, quhilk is in the manis, and your sister hes the keyis,
as scho hes the rest of the keyis of the cofers. And maid
this inventur, Goven, Cardros, scho, hir husband Wemis beand
presand, wychtout quhom we culd get nathing done. I
wrait sindry tymes before how Schir James Balfour, Goven & I
fel in resonyng, & how the regent mycht be brocht to the Kyng
of France devotion, be your labours & his. Gyf ye thocht the
samying to be done, & thinkis, we lang for your ansour.¹ The
bruit is heir that the Kuein of Ingland is deid; the Erle of
Angus deidly seik; Lord Sempil, Bischop of Galowe (Gordon),
Capitan Crawford deid, & yong Schir James Hamilton, kuha
was schot at Drfan thinkand to have stoun the hous fra the Lord
of Arbrocht, he being in Drumfries wycht the Regent pre-
sently, kuha is putand ordur thair to the Bordur. The berir wil
declair the weillfair of frendis, and rest of the estit of this coun-
trech; & sua comitis you to the protection of God. Of Seong,²
in heist, the fyft day of December, your arld servitour at
comand ever redy.

BALFOUR.

This word that is put away in the inventur was your bro-
der's naim.

Marked outside :

Resavit in Diepe, the xij of Marche, 1576.

¹ He again alludes to the overtures of Morton. See the letter of Lord
Ogilvie, p. 539.

² *Sic* in decipher.

No. 15.

Mr BEATOUN of Balfour to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

Sen my last writing with Tomas was, Morton and his adherantis hais ben setand apoun the effairis and polacie of thair senagog, nocht as yeit concludit. And ane scamful bruit raisin divulgait amongis the pepil for the slauchter & cruel murthir of the kingis ambassadeur, commitit be Morton and Quene of Inglandis command. Ye weil knaw beter this mater nor I. I haif intelligens aneucht; gif the purs wald hald half silver weil gait moyen. Non obstant that I writ of my Lord Humis deliverans, the contrair is treu. Na apparans of mi fredom; and ondir caution of five thussind pundis that I sal nother writ to you nor haif intelligens, as als apoun mi f. Ye man heirfor bewar that he quhai decepheris my writingis to you be secreteit, or I weil peris. Abon al bewar wyth al thais I haif maid you alredie advertisiment of. For, as I maid you advertisiment of befor, thair is that braikis your bruid dalie, that writis manifest lies of you. Amangis the rest of thais tratours bewar with Gilbert Doudlas; and as ye may, gar furnis me sum silver; for heir thair nother cridens nor trust. Send me word of yor mind. I sal dou gud weil to pe form the sammin. Writin in haist, the twentie sax of Mairch. Yor maist humbil servand.

BE HUNE.

No. 16.

Mr BEATOUN¹ to ARCHBISHOP BEATOUN.

Monsieur, j'ay receu vostre dernier chiffre, de quelle date je ne sçais, car je ne l'ay peu dechiffrer entierement, pour avoyr bruslé tous mes papiers des le moys de Juing, et mon A B C au moys d'Octobre suyvant. Toutes fois, non sans peine, je me suis efforcé a ressembler les simples, tant pour repondre a ce que me mandes, que pour vous assurer de la bonne

¹ Andrew Beatoun, the brother of the Archbishop.

volonté que j'ay de satisfaire a mon debvoyr, en ce que concerne le service de sa majesté de la Royne nostre souveraine, et pareillement de vous rendre ce a quoy je suys obligé. Et quant au premier, a ce que j'ay peu entendre par vostre dict chiffre, la depeche que Mons^r de Mauvissier a envoyé a Mgr. Le Duc de Lorraine s'adressoyt a vous, comme j'espere vous serez trop mieux adverty par autre voye, et pour vous mettre hors de peine de ce que je vous promettoys plus amples nouvelles par mon dernier chiffre que je vous avoys escrit, environ ce mesme temps ne sont jamais parties de mes mains, de sorte qu'il n'y a rien perdu. Et quant a l'autre, je ne vous puy donner autre tesmoynage que ma parolle, laquelle, si Dieu plaist, vous trouveres tousjours veritable, vous suppliant tres humblement me faire cest faveur de croire que je n'ay pas moins de bonne volonté de respondre, avec tout debvoyr, et comme je suis obligé infiniment a ce que doybs au service de sa dicte majesté, que vous avez de bonne et sincere affection de me le recommander si soingneusement, et la ou il vous plaira m'advise en quoy je puyse adjouster quelque chose a icelle volonté, je le fayray de telle sorte que vous cognoystres, Dieu aydant, que je n'ay pas encores faulte d'entendement pour servir Dieu, honorer et reverer ma souveraine, comme vray et legitime magistrat de sa divine majesté, et obeyr, comme je suys obligé, a vos commandemens. Vous ne me mandes rien de vos affaires, encores que sachiez bien que je n'y ay nul advis d'ailleurs, qui est cause que je n'ay de quoy vous faire longue harangue, n'ayant aucun subject a quoy respondre. Toutes foyz, je ne lesseray pas a vous mander que depuis que suys en Angleterre, je n'ay jamais trouvé sa majesté en melieure devotion en tout ce qui concerne vostre particulier, et mesmement sa majesté m'a dict depuis troys jours, que jamais elle n'avoit pensé mettre ses seaux en autre main sinon pour se mettre hors de la tutele de fu Mgr. le Cardinal de Lorraine, et pour luy oster le moyen de disposer si librement de son bien, ce que sa majesté n'eust jamais peu faire en vostre temps, sans vous mettre en mauvais mesnage avec luy et peultestre au grand prejudice de tous ses autres affaires. Il y a bien deux ans que je vous ay escrit, et par expres commandement de sa majesté, que si vous pouviez

envoyer quelqu'un des vostres en qui vous vous pourriez bien fier, sa majesté avoyt bonne volonté de vous esclaireir de beaucoup de poyntz dont cest cy en estoyt l'un. Et derechef a present sa majesté estant en esperance que Mons. de Lugery aura pasport, m'a commandé vous escrire qu'elle desyre que quelqu'un des vostres, et en qui vous vous puyssiez bien fier, face le voyage avec luy pour le mesme effect. Dieu veulle que nous les puyssions veore aussy tost par de sa que la santé de sa majesté le requiert. Au rest, Monsieur, puyque c'est le bon plaisir de Dieu me donner plus de santé que je n'ay en par cydevant, dautant je m'efforceray a l'employer sincerement au service de sa majesté, qui est le plus agreable service pareillement que je pense vous pouvoyr faire, comme aussy je fayray tout ce qui sera en moy pour continuer ceux qui sont pres sa majesté en la bonne volonté et affection, qu'ilz vous portent, et ont tousjours porté, a ce que j'ay peu cognoystre. Il est bien vray que je ne puy juger de ce que les hommes ont dans le cœur, mais a ce qui est venu a ma cognoyscance, je n'ay jamais apperceu que personne quelconque par desa ayt seulement parlé de vous, sinon avec un respect deu, et a vostre honeur, si ce n'a este fu Mons^r Raulet en ces derniers jours, et la ou j'eusse cogneu le contraire. Tout ainsy comme je seroys bien marry d'estre estimé rapporteur et boutefeux contre toute charité christienne, pareillement, ne suis je tant obligé a homme vivant que je vouldusse dissimuler avec luy a vos despens, ce que je vous ay bien voullu faire entendre pour vous supplier me faire ce bien, au cas que quelqu'un vous eust fait aucun rapport au contraire, de me reserver l'un oreille comme a celuy qui vous est le plus obligé, et moins vous vouldroyt deguiser la verité en tout ce qui vous touchera. Et comme je ne vous vouldroys laisser ignorer le mal s'il en avoyt, aussy ne vous veulx je cacher le bien ; et pour ceste cause je vous diray icy que j'ay veu des lettres de James Curll a son filz, ou entre beacop d'autres propos il escrit en telle sorte, et si en homme de bien de vous, que si vous aviez veu ses dictes lettres, et eussiez le moyen de luy faire aucun plaisir, vous jugeres sa bonne volonté le meriter ; sur quoy je ne vous diray autre chose, car n'avoy jamais eu occasion de doubter de vostre benevolence envers tous les

fidelles serviteurs de sa majesté, et scachant bien avec quel visage je vous ay veu autrefois recepvoyr les ennemys mesmes de vostre nom et famille, pour le seul respect du service de sa dicte majesté. Je ne vous veulx importuner de plus longues lettres pour le present, ayant en assez de peine de vous mander ce que dessus en un chiffre manche et rappetace, comme celuy qui faict tout le mieulx qu'il peult. Au surplus, Monsieur, je n'ay, Dieu mercy, fault de rien, qui sera cause que, si Mons^r Dolu m'offre de l'argent, je le remvoyeray a vous, sachant bien en quel estat vous pouvez estre, et quels hostes vous aves en Poietou. J'auray tousjours a honeur et tres grand contentement que vous vous servies de ce que sa majesté me don; et apres m'estre tres humblement recommandé a vos bonnes graces, je pry Dieu vous donner en santé longue et heureuse vie. De Chefeild ce 2 : de 2 vostre plus obligé frere et bien affectionné serviteur de Betoun.

Monsieur le Secretaire, je vous ay escrit ce de en lettres ouvertes, auxquelles je n'ay rien a adjouster, sinon que je vous pry ne trouver mauvais que je vous ay advisé autrefois de ce que je pense estre la mieulx pour vous et pour moy. Je ne puy estre amy et dissimulateur, mais si vous me voulles faire entendre en quoy je vous puyse faire plaisir, vous cognoystres que je n'ay pas faulte de bonne volonté. Vostre affectionné amy de Betoun.

Marked outside :

Reçu, le jour de Pasques, 1576.

No. 17.

The QUEEN to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

Omitted in her majesty's letter — Labanoff, vol. iv. p. 300—after "bien humble service." La Royne commence a se malcontenter fort de son brouillon, et surtout de ce que L il veulx gouverner ses affaires a sa fantasie sans y appeller que ceulx qui dependent de luy. Elle luy a desja escript par troyz foyz fort aigrement, et plus que devant, par sa dernière,

laquelle vous pouvez avoir veue dans le dernier paquet que je vous ay adressé. Je n'oublie poinct a le servir de ce que je puis : mais d'autant que sa majesté ne veult faire paroistre la faulte qu'elle a faicte en l'election d'un tel homme, combien qu'elle la cognoisse assez a present, je ne puis parvenir a ce que je desirerois, et cependant je tasche de luy rongner les aësles de si pres qu'il demeure contant de sa charge sans s'entremectre de celles d'autrui. Vous aurez par Mons. Dolu de nouvelles instructions que j'ay dressées pour renverser l'ordre estably a la devotion du dict 7: et le remectre, s'il m'est possible comme il doibt estre, premierement pour le service de sa majesté, et en apres au contentement de tous ses bons et anciens amys. Mons. de Ross qui s'est acheminé a Rome, &c. [as in Labanoff].

No. 18.

MONSIEUR ARNAULT¹ to ARCHB^d. BEATON.

Monseigneur, ces jours passez, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur receut de Monsieur de Walsingham deux paquetz de la Royne d'Escosse, en l'un desquelz estoit enclouz le present, qu'il vous envoie, accompagné de celui des officiers de sa majesté lequel (comme verrez par le cachet de Mons^r de Walsingham qui y a esté mis) a esté ouvert. Et quant a vrê dernier je le porte ces jours a la court, et devant que de rien cacheter et fermer, je voulu tout montrer et ouvrir a mon dict Sieur de Walsingham, ainsi que Mons^r l'ambas. adeur me l'avoit enchargé. Mais il ne voulut permettre que j'ouvrissse vostre paquet, (qui n'estoit aucunement cacheté) ni nulle autre de nos lettres (comme il a de coustume) ains me le fit pleyer et cacheter pour l'envoyer ce jour la mesme a sa majesté, laquelle avoyt envoyé ung devant de coste et ung pourpoint en broderie fort bien elabouré a Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, pour le presenter de sa part a la Royne d'Angleterre, ce qu'il fit en son audience qu'il eut il y a troys jours, et luy presente aussy les lettres escrites de la main de sa majesté

¹ Secretary to the French ambassador in London.

qu'elle receut fort volontiers. Mons^r l'Ambassadeur a receu response des petitz paquetz desquelz vous me mandiez estre en peine, et vous enverrez par la premiere assuree commodité ce qui est pour vous. Je croy que vous avez bien entendu que le Sieur Garteley est detenu prisonnier en Escosse par le Regent, a l'instinct, comme il dict, de Mons^r de Walsingham, qui luy escrivit que le dict Sieur Garteley avoit baillé en ceste ville copies du testament du conte Badouel, lequel estoit contre le dict Sieur Regent et contre son honneur. Il en a escrit a Mons^r l'Ambassadeur pour interceder envers le dict Sieur de Walsingham, afin qu'il moyennast son relaschement. Le Sieur de Horsaye qu'avoit renvoyé la Royne d'Angleterre vers Dom Johan d'Austria, est retourné assez mal edifié, comme l'on dict, du dict Seigneur; tellement que l'on tient pour tout certain que la dicte Royne se declarera pour les estatz, et fera doresnavant arrester toutes les navvies des Espagnols qui voudront passer ce destroit. Elle est fort picquée des indignitez qu'ont receu quelques uns de ses subjectz en la ville d'Anvers. On tient pour tout certain que la guerre est declarée d'une part et d'autre au dict Pays Bas. Mons^r l'Ambassadeur a eu advis par ses derniers que sa Majesté se portoit bien, dont je loue Dieu, et le prie vous donner, Monseigneur, en tres parfaite santé heureuse et longue vie. De Londres, ce viij jour de Febvrier, 1577. Vostre bien humble et tres affectionné Serviteur. ARNAULT.

Madame de Mauvisiere est relevée de couche, et se porte bien. Elle m'a chargée de vous presenter ses bien affectueuses recommandations a vos bonnes graces.

Written in ordinary characters by a clerk. Signature and Postscript are autograph.

Thus addressed :

A Monseigneur Mgr l'Archevesque de Glasgo grand Aulmosnier, superintendant des affaires, et ambassadeur de la Royne d'Escosse, douairiere de France.

¹ Copies of Bothwell's will had found their way to London at this time. But they have now disappeared.

No. 19.

LORD OGILVY to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

I wreit to your Lordship in *J*. with Jhon Fischer sic discurs as I culd lerne for that tyme, quha prameist to me that gif he cum not himself with thay letters, he suld cause thame be [du]lly delyvrit to your Lordship, and as yit I knaw not gif they be cum to your handis or not. My estait has yit continueit efter the samin sort as I wreit to you, excep only be the solistation of mony nobilmen being at the mariage and banket in Glasgo of my Lord P—^{ov}¹ dochter with the Maister of Eglintoun, I gat my ward transportit furth of Glasgo nearer my *ov* to Sanct Andrews, quhair as yit I remane, and in my cumming furth of Glasgo com be Edinburgh, quhair I spak with my Lord Regent,² and be his langage he apperit to be in your Lordship guid wil & favour, lyk as he had schawin to your unqhyl cusing Maister Stevin, quhom to he had committit sum credit to haue bein reportit to your Lordship, gif God had permittit him dayis to have spoken to you; and continuis as yit in the samin, as apperis to me: He spak very reverendly and with gryt honour of the Queen, protesting befor his God he wald not do her evil, nor consent thairto for all the geir of the world; and gif the king his maister inlakit, as God forbeid, he wald seik be all moyans to have of hir succession to occupy hir roun, and wald rather serve hir and hir race, nor ony of the warld, as God was his juge. And fordair, quhair sum calumniat him that he had maid promes of the King hir son to England, he took on his conscience that he was als free of any promes towards the Queen of England, on that behalf, as ony man that was on the Queens faction or on that syde, as tym suld gif experience. I did reply onto him, quhilk was over lang to trouble your Lordship with; but his conclusion in general was, as apperit to me, that gif he war suir that the Queen wald forgait and put in oblivion thingis past, as alsua a. to beir him guid wil, that he wald do all thingis that lay into him for restoring of the Queen's majesty

¹ Rothes.² The Earl of Morton.

to hir former estait and honour, & said forder he wald be able to delyver her the maist pairt of her jowellis, and quhair ony wantit, to schaw in quhais handis they war; and eftir I cum heir to Sanct Andrews, Sir James Balfour cum to me, quha assureitly apperis to beir the Queen's majesty as guid will as evir he did, and he has gryt credit at the Regent's handis. He did assure me al this that the Regent spak to me to be al treu, and reportit the samin in affect, and mekil mair, and how that he had wretin and causit wryt this samin to your Lordship, regratand hevelie that na ansour cam agane.¹ I resonit hardly with Sir James, sayand how culd that be proponit to the Queen's majestee or to your Lordship, in respect the regent had so gryt moyan with England, and wold not schak thame of; quha ansorit that the regent and he had bein in hand with that befor; sayand that that was the hie way to his destruction, he not being assurit of the Queen's gud wil nor yet of a quhilk gif he war, other be hir awin letter or youris in hir name, send to me or ony uthir hir gud frindis heir, that that suld not be long to do, and wald be content with gud wil to leif under hir majestie and hir son, only Erle of Morten in his awin rank and to cleith him with s. and hir, and to gif hir and thame perfyte prouf of his services. Sir James thinkis that gif sik ane mater might be brocht about without trouble in this cuntray, it war the gretest honour & weil that evir your Lordship or ony uthir Scottisman did in our dayis. I assure your Lordship that Sir James is yit extreimly haitit be al theis that war aganis the Queen, except the Regent only; and in my opinioun he has gud resoun to do al that he don to furthir hir cause. For he has na assurance bot be hir; and I belief your Lordship may credeit him in this mater. Gif this be treulie menit as it is spokin, your Lordship hes sum guid mater to work on, be this, & be the uthir letter send to you with Jhon Fischer, quhairin I did mention sum thingis of theis about the king, sic as Argyle and utheris; be the quhilkis twa letteris ye may easely se the estait of the cuntray. This is ane mater that wald be wyselic lukit upon, as I doup not bot your Lordship wil, & to tak the best of thir twa. Thair is ane gryt contradiction betwix the first letter & this heir. This

¹ See the letters of Mr Beaton of Balfour, Nos. 12, 13, and 14.

offring requiris, savand your wyser jugement, ane gud ansour. Alwais, howsoever your Lordship wil that I use me, or with quhom ye think that I sal deil, I sal go fordward with it. I am grytly pressit for ane ansour at your Lordship's hand, for thay belief that I have that credit with your Lordship. I wald request you, gif ye think it guid, that ye suld send sum gud letter to be schawin to the Regent or to Sir James Balfour, and ane uther appert to myself, how ye wil me to wirk; and I sal execut the sam with als gud hert, be Godis grace, as your Lordship wil advyse me to do. I have bein veray evil handlit, and yit na beter as the J^r can schaw, marie gif I may wirk to bring about hir service and forderance, I cair not. I assuir your Lordship efter the returning of your gud ansour baith the Queen, that kingdom and your Lordship wil be socht be all moyane, and sum freind send to your Lordship to that \diamond Assuridlie I wryt nathing but that I am earnestly desyrit to do. For as your Lordship hes had ane gud opinion of me, sa sal I merit sa far as sal ly into me to lat you knaw al thingis that I may lern not only that, bot to hasard my lyf and al that may follow thairon to gif you perfytt experience gud wil I have to do your Lordship service, and nevir to change sa lang as I leif. As ony forder occasion serves your Lordship sal be adverteist.¹

Marked on the back :

Letter of my Lord Ogylvy, send wt David Balfour, & resavit the xv^t of Apryll, 1577.

No. 20.

LORD OGILVY to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

I have ressavit your leter the last of 12 quhairin ye find you evil informit from heir; and specialy sen I com out of ward, the quhilk indeid is treu, bot yit the falt was not alto-gader in me. For δ , and your man Brus promessit to me to mak you informit fra tym to tym as materis fel furthe. Bot your Lordship sal not find sic falt wytht me in tym cum-

¹ The offers of Morton and Balfour contained in this letter are very remarkable.

ing, God wiling. I trest Athol sal send sum man to you wytht his ful intentioun. He thinkis to be doin be your ad-
vyce with this afflictit kingdom; and hes nathing les in mynd
nor that thing your Lordship thinkis, that theis heir suld
esteim of your Lordship's inhabitati and capassati, quhilk
assuritly thay esteim mair wirthy nor ony heir that can traf-
fyk wyth your Lordship, and wil depend on your wisdoun
and counsel be ony man lifand, tuiching our weil and
kingdom. As consarning the rest that followis in your letter,
tuiching the protestation your Lordship makis, as I luif your
lyf and honour, quhilk assuritlie is als deir to me as my awin,
or than I war not wirthy to leif, in respec of sa guid caus, as
I and myn has resavit of you, that I culd not bey advertisar of
that quhilk folowit in your leter. Your Lordship may weil be
assurit nevir word nor deid sal cum throw me to your hurt,
Immediatelie efter the resseit of your letter, I passit to the
Earl of Athol, quha incontinent send to the Earl of Argyle, to
attend on that man that is to cum, quha hes promessit to do
the same secretli and weil. For Argyle knawis not this to
proceed from your Lordship, but only of Athol, quha lyk-
wayis fand it not guid that I suld communicat it to *o*, in
respect of his residence that he makis at Striveling. War
not that I wis ye beter acquaintit with this scifer, I had not
gotin it red; ther was mony wrang letteris in it. Athol findis
the man that is cuming very guid, and his opinioun is that he
wald vyse him openli to declair befor the King and Counsel
his commissioun, and deil privatly with sic utheris as he hes
to do wythal. For he hes ane fair grund to desyr the repara-
tioun of rompeure of the peis betwin the twa cuntrayis. Ther
wil be ane man gotin that has beyth the Latin and Franche
for that. Now, as to the estait of this Cuntray, ther hes ne
alteration hapnit sen our beying at the Fakirk, and I dout not
bot ye haif hard of the meiting that hes bein sen syn at the
kyrk of Enviresk, and at Leith. I was chosin to haif bein
ane of the ressounaris of that mater, bot I had sic adu that I
mycht not be at it. As also for sic uther causis as I wil lat
your Lordship knaw. I was ane coumunar at our agriance
in Stirviling, and did send your Lordship the hedis of our
capitulation ather be Brus or Schaw. Theis about the King

dois al that they can to wrak us inderecely that was at the Farkirk. For thay haif gyfen Coldenknowis ofyce of Wardanry to the Laird Woderburin; lykwyis † ofyce of wardenry to ‡ and I feir in schort tym yeung Sesfuird sal pas be the sam. Ther is nevir action now that comes befor the counsel of Stirveling, bot it is tein away be the pluralaty of votis, how godly or ressonabil that evir it be. The bordors, be Mortonis moyan, is heil brokin, also the hilandis, to the effec he may be calit ane guid governour in his tym; and yet theis that hes doin the sam was in his keiping, quhan he demittit the authority, and sen syn he hes latin thaim gang free to truble the cuntray. Ther was ane privy moyan meid latly to haif tein the toun of Edinbroth be slycht, and thay to haif commandit the castel, quhilk was esaly doin, and thereafter to haif retirrit the King to Edinbroth. Bot this enterprys was decuverit, and sen syn thay haif mand the steipil, and hes four hundreth men in wach nychtly, and markis to leif on ther gardis for ane tym. I trest ye haif hard the Bishop of Ketnes was meid Eirl of Lennox for twa causis; ane that Monsur de Aubanye¹ suld not cum in Scotland to seik the rycht of the hous of Lennox, the uther, he being Eirl of Lennox and the King's Unkil, suld mak him aganis us. Always, Athol hes mereyit ane daacher of his on him, that he may profiteit thaim nathing. The este t of this cuntray standis in ane mervelus evil kase. God for his mersy to help it! I mynd to retein my Son James heim schortly, gyf it be your Lordship's plesur. The causis quhy I wil not truble your Lordship now, but sal cause David Ballour declair to you the heil circumstansyis of al at lynth. Sa efter my humil commendations of service to your Lordship, I commit your Lordship most hartly to Godis' protection. At Boleschin the 26 day of 2

Monsuiar Aubenye, Athol and Argyle writis that Maister Jhon Lindsay gat to bring in Scotland, himself derikit on the back to Morton, for feir thay suld be tein in England. Ane frind quha resavit his leteris befor his cuming in Scotland, hes send that packet to Mortun. I wat not gyf he hes resavit tham, but youris is weil quhaevir be beraris.

¹ Esmé Stewart Lord of Aubigny.

No. 21.

GEORGE DOUGLAS to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

I haif resavit your Lordship's letter of the 20 of Mersche. It is treu that it com not to my handis til within this sax daies. Incontinent thaireftir I maid my onkil and C participant thairof. If it hed com schouner to our handis your Lordship micht haif hed schouner ansour. In the men tym I thocht it nesesser to lat you onderstand the reset thairof by this present berer, of quhais fideliti I wil ansur your Lordship, and als particularly to inform you of the present esteit of our cuntry, abyding til your Lordschip may be foullily ansurit of your letter, quhilk sal be shortly, God willing, ethir bi Wilyem Schaw, or sic othir as theis nobilmen think expedient, quhom to ye haif wretin and send credit. For my pert, I sal spour them with sic diligens as is posibil acordin to the tym, quhilk is veri trubilsom, and in special C hard handling, quhais ansur the heil rest depends opon. I wil asur you my onkil and he remanis constant, in sort that if al the Lords of Scotland sould abandoun our Mestres caus, and hir majestis sons servis, thay wil hauld ferme, providing thay may do the sam that is be help of France. I wil not insist presently on this meter, til your Lordschip resave ansur of your letteris, to the quhilk tym I remit al othir thingis to the berer quhom I haif sufficiently instructit. I hoip yit that thir Lordis do soum goud, albeit thay haif bein ovir slaw in bygenis, to the scheim and disonor of that treson committit in Stirling, and to the weil of them that menit and menis na thing bot the weil of our Mestres, and preservation of hir majestie's son. This eftir my most humil commendation of servis comits your Lordschip in Goddis protexion. From Glendowik, the twentie aucht day of July, your Lordship's at powar to do your servis.

GEORGE DOUGLAS.

My bedfallow hes hir humil servis comendit to your Lordship.

No. 22.

After "Escript a Chatsworth le quinziesme Septembre," on p. 66, vol. v., of Labanoff, the following Postscript by Nau is omitted :

Ce qui suict est de Nau. Monseigneur, je n'ajouteray a ceste cy qu'un bien humble remerciement de ce qu'il vous a pleu dernièrement m'escrire mesmement pour mon particulier, dont ayant fait ouverture suyvant vostre advis a la Roynes, elle m'a demonstré ne l'avoir aucunement agréable. Je le respecte, oultre le respect de son service, à cause que les affaires de mon frere le tresorier eussent bien requis ma presence, pour un temps par dela, et mon indisposition mesme. Voyla comment je demeure prisonnier, avec plus de volenté que de moyen de vous satisfaire en tout ce qui concernera vostre service par de ça, vous priant m'excuser de ce qui passe audessus de mes forces. Au reste, vous me trouverez tousjours tel que je vous ay protesté. Le manque du payement de ce que vous avez avancé a Mons^r de Fernyherst me gardera une aultre fois de m'engaiger, par aucun ordre en faveur de qui que ce soit, et lorsqu'il adviendra, ce sera de sorte que j'en puisse repondre. Sur ce, vous baisant tres humblement les mains, je prieray Dieu qu'il vous aye en sa sainte garde. J'ay honte de vous rendre la reponse qui m'a esté donné sur ce que je m'estois avancé de remonstrer de vostre estat et grande necessité. On m'a dict que doresnavant vous jouiriez paisiblement de votre abbaye, que vous aviez amandé d'une bonne somme d'argent comptant, par la mort de feu Mons^r vostre frere, et que retranchant, comme vous me mandez avoir delibéré ce que vous aviez acoustume de departir du vostre aux uns et aux aultres, vous aviez de quoy attendre un meilleur estat des affaires de sa majesté, veu sa necessité presente. Elle a esté infiniment offensée de ce que luy a escript ō touchant ce qu'il dist qu'on a voulu attempter contre luy, ou l'on vous charge de n'avoir esté si prompt à l'assister de vostre faveur, à en avoir la raison que les circonstances du fait le requerirent. Le reste est pour Mons^r Chas-

teau. Monsieur et frere, je vous prie faire tenir à mon beau-frere, M. de Ruisseau, le petit paquet cy encloz marquée [Δ], et en recompense faites estat de moy, comme de celuy qui est entierement vostre. Je me suis servis de ce que vous m'avez escript pour confirmer sa majesté en la panse qu'elle a en vostre service, et luy lever le malcontentement que cydevant elle en pourroit avoir receu. Le reste est de la Royne a Mgr de Glasgo.

Mgr de Glasgo. Faites delyvrer, &c.

No. 23.

BRUCE to ARCH^d. BEATON.

Monseigneur, Je vous ay escrit l'unzieme d'Aoust, par le maistre de mon navire, que Guillaume Acman connoit bien, auquel j'ay adressé mes lettres pour vous estre envoyées, en quel estat j'ay trouvé ce pays a mon arrivée, et comme je m'estois gouverné avec les Contes Argyl et Athol. Je vous ay aussi amplement escrit par Maitre Thomas Levingstone, le vingtiesme du dict mois, leur responce a tous les pointz de mes instructions, dont de jour en jour ils demandent la vostre sur la volonté de leurs majestez; en quoy je leur ay promis qu'ilz seront bientost satisfaitz, et en ceste esperance, ilz ne m'ont point voulu laisser partir encores d'icy, principalement Monseigneur d'Athol, qui est d'advis que j'attende l'arrivée de l'ambassadeur qui sera envoyé par deça, de la part de leurs dictes majestez, le depart duquel il vous supplie solliciter et haster en toute diligence, comme il vous escrit particulièrement lui mesmes par sa lettre, ecrite sur le dos d'une petite ligne en chiphre, laquelle il m'a bailée a Dunkel apres mon retour de Blair en Athol, ou je le suis alle trouver ces jours passez. Madame sa femme vous escrit aussi la lettre cy enclose, marquée ainsi (\ddagger) et a la majesté de la Royne notre Souveraine et maistresse la ainsi suscrite (R) et ceste autre (N) a Ψ . De toutes lesquelles il est tres necessaire de recevoir les responces, pour les encourager au service de sa dicte majesté, et pour tenir le fer chaud, tandis qu'il est au feu.

Car, sur mon Dieu, la constente integrité de mon dict Seigneur Athol, au service de Dieu, de sa Souveraine, et de leurs majestés Chrestiennes est admirable, veu le travail et grand fardeau qu'il soustient, et les embusches qui continuellement luy sont dressées. Il est autant ou plus François que Escossois, et en retient les Contes d'Argyl et †, avec plusieurs autres des plus grand Seigneurs a la devotion de leurz dictes majestez tres Chrestiennes, attendant vos nouvelles de leur intention et volonté envers eux. Je ne le voulu quitter qu'il ne feut party de Domkel vers Edinburgh, ou il arriva Dimanche dernier, pour obvier aux menées du conte de Morton, qui s'esforçoit d'attirer a sa devotion le chasteau et la ville par ses partisans, qui y demeurent jusques au nombre de trente. Il a offert dix mil marckz a la femme d'Alexandre Arsking. Apres le departe du Conte d'Athol de Dumkel, qui fut Samedy dernier, je m'acheminay a Castel Cambel, où, à mon arrivée, qui fut le Lundy ensuivant, Monsieur le Conte d'Argyl ne faisoit que venir de Stirling. Il me receut humainement, et me dict qu'il avoit disné le jour precedent avec le Roy, qui ne peut avoir qu'une bonne opinion, malgré tous les mauvais q: q: que ses adversaires font a son prejudice; au surplus qu'il peut entrer en son quartier quant il veult; mais il attend que le Conte de Morton s'en soit premicrement en allé, selon sa promesse. Pour a quoy donner bientost ordre, je le persuaday et priay au nom du dict Conte d'Athol, de l'aller trouver incontinent á Edinbrogh, ou il arriva avant hier avec Monsieur †, qui à la requeste du dict Conte d'Athol ne l'a pas abandonné un seul jour, horsmis celui qu'il fut a Stirling depuis le dernier appointment, fait au mois d'Aoust avec ceux de la maison de Mar et leurs adherens, qui taschent au possible d'attirer et gagner la bonne grace du dict Conte d'Argyle. Mais pour obvier a tel inconvenient, et pour l'entretenir a sa devotion, le dict Conte d'Athol a fait tousjours tenir avec luy, comme dict est, le dict †, attendant vostre responce sur la volonté de leurs dictes majestéz, laquelle si l'on differe, le dict Conte d'Athol sera contraint de succomber sous le faiz, et en abandonnant le tout, s'en aller par dela, comme il a esté de longtemps, et est encores resolu et délibéré. Le dict Conte d'Argyle promet d'entretenir notre dict prince a la devotion de la Roynne sa

mere, comme s'est efforcé estant dernièrement à Stirling. Mais notre dict prince, a la persuasion des gens qui sont alentour de luy, commença un jour a redarguer Madame la Contesse d'Argyl sa femme, qui avoit demeurée quelque temps auparavant pres de luy, pour preparer la voye a son dict mary, de ce qu'elle le persuadoit d'entretenir division en son royaume, et l'empeschoit de se joindre avec ceux de la maison de Mar et adherens, qui travailloyent pour sa preservation et liberté. A quoy elle respond, qu'il ne pouvoit estre trop assurée parmy ses ennemis et ceux du bien public, ny aussi en liberté estant enfermé dedans un chasteau, et au reste, qu'il n'y avoit femme au monde, exeptee une seule, qui l'aimoit tant qu'elle. Et luy ayant demandé laquelle c'estoit, elle repliqua, la Royne vostre mere, qui vous estime son seul joyau, et supernaturellement vous ayme plus que sa propre vie. Des qu'elle eust répliqué ceci, il se souris, et l'ayant salué doucement se retire d'avec elle. Elle m'a jure que, moyennant l'aide de Dieu, son mary ne demeurera pas huit jours au chasteau de Stirling, que par finesse, ou par force, il ne se face maistre du chasteau et de la personne du Prince, qui par la trop grande liberté qu'il a eu ces moys passez, est devenu fort superbe et grand dissimulateur, et craint on qu'il ressemble à ses pere et grandpere, principalement en la cruauté et peu de jugement. Mon dict Seigneur Conte d'Athol m'a dict plus de vingt foyes qu'il vouldroyt avoir perdre tout son bien moyennant, que nostre dict prince et luy passent tous deux en France. Trois jours apres mon arrivée en ce pays, les ministres d'Edinburgh luy demanderent sur sa conscience, s'il n'avoit point des intelligences en France, et si je ne luy avois apporté lettres; il les pria de croire que non. Neantmoins cela ne les a empeschez de me soupçonner a cause de vous, et de ma religion, et pour la mesme cause je suis autant suspect au Conte de Morton et ses complices, qui tasche de me faire nuire, dont j'eü avvertissement par Mons^r d'Airth et mon =, qui m'envoyerent chacun un gentilhomme avant mon depart vers le pays d'Athol. Depuis mon dict Seigneur le Conte d'Athol m'a avoué pour sien, disant m'avoir receu pour gouverner son fils, et m'excuse de mes voyages par le pays sur ce que je va

visiter mes parens et amis, a cause de ma longue absence en France. Monseigneur, je vous ay supplié par mes premieres, comme je faiz encores a present, d'avancer a Maistre Thomas Levingstone soixante six escus sol desquelz, Dieu aydant, je vous rembourseray a mon retour par de la. Car j'y ay autant entre les mains d'un quidam qui ne s'en deschargera point jusques a mon retour. J'espere, Monseigneur, que je ne seray point esconduit de ma requeste. Le Conte de Morton envoya lettres du roy a Edinburgh pour faire eslire un prevost a sa devotion; mais le Conte d'Athol, qui s'estoit achemine, tant pour assister au retour de messieurs du parlement, qu'a l'election du dict prevost, leur remonstra qu'en obeissant aux dictes lettres on introduisoit une nouvelle coustume en la ville, leur ostant la liberté d'eslire leur prévost et eschevins, de sorte que celuy de ceste année passée a esté retenu, et les eschevins esleuz a la devotion du dict Conte d'Athol. Il y a plus de troys semaines que Guillaume Schaw eust sa depesche du Conte d'Athol, et tousjours depuis il a demeuré au Chasteau de Stirling. Le dict Conte d'Athol, à toute peine empescha le Conte d'Argyle d'aller demeurer au dict Chasteau, parceque Morton y est encores. Le dict Argyle est trop facile, et totalement gouverné par sa femme, qui est soupçonnée de hayr la Royne, et de favoriser et d'avoir intelligence avec le dict Morton. Neantmoins, à ce que j'ay peu colliger de ses propos mesmes, c'est pour attrapper le dict Morton, et se faire Maistre du dict Chasteau, et de la personne du Prince. Pour faire appointment, on a proposé le mariage du ♂ avec la fille du feu Conte de Morray et de ma dicte dame d'Argyle. Maistre Jhan Provan retournera bientost a □ mais je ne scay à quelle fin. J'ay moyen de faire dire et proposer ce que vous voudrez a nostre Prince. Mon beaupere est mallade jusques à l'extrémité, par quoy il vous supplie tres humblement vouloir prier la Royne d'accorder ce qui luy est deu de ses gaiges au profit de sa femme, et de ses enfans, qui sont deposez de leurs moyens et heritages pour le fidelle service qu'il a faict à sa majesté. Le Sieur Bruce, qui faict le devoir d'un bon subiect et serviteur de sa Maistresse, pres le Conte d'Argyle et autres Seigneur de ce pays, s'en alloit en ◡ si je ne l'eusse retenu sur l'esperance de la liberalité de sa majesté. Vos

detteurs m'ont promis de vous satisfaire bientost, ce que je solliciteray dilligemment.

Maintenant Monsieur est //, je vous supplieray me tenir es bonnes graces de monseigneur et de vous; et assurer Monsieur Melville de la bonne santé de ses amis par de ça, le priant en mon nom de me ramentevoir souvent a sa majesté, avec protestation que je ne me lasseray pas de luy faire humble et fidelle service, s'il luy plaist me tesmoigner sa bonne volonté par quelque bienfait a sa discretion. A petit Lith, ce cinquiesme Octobre, huict. Vostre humble Serviteur.

Marked outside:—

Bruce, reçu le viij Nov^{re} 1578.

No. 24.

LORD OGILVY to ARCH^p. BEATOUN.

I resavit your æ the twelt of 4, as lykways the Queenis alphabet to me, & ane letter to be given to the k ng. I dellyverit the same immediatly after the resait thair of within his cabinet, nane present bot my Lord of Lennox, quha behuvit to knaw thair of. The king lykit veray weil of the 4 & findis it treu by experience in mony pointis, til have bein practisit heir, gif God had not discoverit & stoppit thair ungodly mening; lyk as I dout not bot your Lordship hes pairtly heard or now. Specially be the detention of Morton, quha, I belief sal schortly get his conding recompence; as lykwayis the eschewing of Maister Archibald Douglas, quha remanis presently in Berwik. Gif I suld entir in discours upon the craftis that Randal hes usit in this kingdom, as in suting Morton's libertie, & to disgrace my Lord of Lennox be counterfeitit letteris,¹ as wretin be you and the Bischop of Ros to some Cardinaillis of Rome, as lykwayis from thame to you, & that, be my Lord of

¹ He refers to the counterfeit letters produced by Randolph, and which Bowes admitted to be forged.—See p. 218 of this volume.

Lennox intelligence with you & thame was hail til subvert the religion, be the quhilkis he culd not find ane moyen sa proper til move the hail kirk and ministris agans him, as be that, the quhilk apirandly had succedit to Randel's mening, gif God had not preventit it be the taking of Quhittingeam and George Afflek, quha planly hes schawin that sic letteris and inventions war maid in Berwik be Maister Archibald Douglas, Bows, & uthairs, and send in heir to Randel, it war langsum. The murthour of the kingis father is able to be tryit schortly, as lykwys the poisoning of the Erle of Athol. As to the taking of the kingis self, it is plane that he suld have bein delyverit in England. With the circumstances thair of God hes bein very favorabil til him, & til us that dependis treuly upon him. Ye king is rathir inclynit to France nor to Spain, for ony argumentis consavit ather in the letter, or that I culd gif him, quhairfor they suld in my opinion meit it, gif his neid requyr, quhilk aperis to be gryt, bot, God willing, his body sal be preservit from thame, albeit thay may weil owerharle ane part of kis hingdom. I gif you maist humble thankis that, amangis mony uthir gud benefits, hes movit the Quene til tak sua gud opinion of me, as to gif me sa gryt credit betwix hir & hir son. I sal deserve sa far as sic ane puir man of my estait may, in treuth & honesty, as hir majestie & your Lordship sal knaw be experience. The king hes als gryt lyking of his mother as ony son can have, and ane very gud lyking of your Lordship also. I have brunt, as ye commandit, the chipher letter & al befor the berar. I wil beseik your Lordship to contineu your wonted favour to me, as your Lordship sal have power to command me to my lyfis end. It wil pleis you to cause convoy this uthair tickat to the Queenis majestie, quhilk is bot schort, in respect that I have wretin to your Lordship. At Edinburg, the saxteint of April, 1581.¹ Your Lordship's maist obedient d'Ogilvy.

Marked outside :—

Reçaved, the xxij of May, 1581.

¹ Morton was at this time a prisoner in Dumbarton Castle awaiting his trial.

No. 25.

THE DUKE OF LENNOX¹ to ARCHB^d. BEATOUN.

Le de ce moys je receu la lettre envoyée par ce porteur, laquelle je montray au roy, qui a esté fort aisé de seavoir que la Royne sa mere l'a en si grande recommandation; dont il l'en a voullu remercier par sa lettre, que je vous envoie avec une que j'escrips ausi a sa majesté, par laquelle je fais response a tous les points de celle envoyée P: datée de du , dont je suis certain qu'elle recevra contentement, car elle voyra par là la grande affection que son bon filz luy porte, laquelle je vous jure sur mon honneur, l'avoir congneue tousjours estre tres grande. Et pour vous dire en abrégé le contenu de ma dicte lettre, le roy est resolu que malgré tout le monde il veult recongnoytre sa mere, l'aymer, l'honorer, et la respecter, comme Dieu le luy commande de faire, et d'ensuyvre son conseil en tous ses affaires, et supporter et assister ceulx d'Engleterre qui sont affectionnés a son service en tout ce qu'il luy sera possible. Il est content de renouveler les anciennes alliances, avec la France, et mesme par mariage, mais il n'a nulle volonté a l'Espaigne. Quant a la faction de Hon-tigton, c'est chose dont j'avois esté adverty par elle, il y a desja pres d'ung an. Il supplie ausi sa bone mere que par moyen il soit appelé roy par les roys etrangers, à la charge qu'il luy sera obeissant en tout ce qu'il luy plaira de commander, et la supplie ausi qu'il puisse estre aydé de quelque argent et pouldre, ce qui est tres necessaire; mais il fault que cela se face secretement et dilligemment. Il remercie Mons^r de Guise de sa bonne volonté, le suppliant de la luy vouloir continuer, et que si l'ong luy faict la guerre, qu'il luy veuille secourir, et d'estre procureur vers le roy, pour luy d'avoir son assistance. Car il est resolu de prendre son support de sa majesté d'icy en avant, et ausy il prie Mons. de Guise de s'assurer qu'il l'ayme comme son bon parent et amys. Je luy avoit dict, comme il m'avoit par Lucrois, qu'il luy vouloit envoyer les chevaulx d'Ytalye. Il en a esté tres aise, et les recevra de tres bon cuer. Mais si Mons. de Guise luy

¹ Esmé Stewart.

escript, je vous supplie qu'il le nome roy, car aultrement ses lettres ne seront pas receues, et sy cela le mecontentera beaucoup, et sy cest chose qui ne peult en rien offenser la Royne sa mere. Quant aux deportemens de deça, Randel qui estoit icy ambassadeur de la Royne d'Angleterre, a fort urgé la liberté de Morton, et a trafiqué avec le Conte d'Angous pour prendre les armes, de telle façon que le dict Angous s'est rendu rebelle, et sera bientost forfait. Il a esté delaisné de beaucoup qui luy avoit promis assistance. Le procès de Morton sera bientost parachevé au contentement de la Royne d'Escosse, comme j'espère. Le dict a montré icy une copie de lettre qu'il disoit estre de vous, qu'aviez escript a Rome, par laquelle il me pensoit disgracier, parceque la dicte lettre faisoit mention que j'estois entré en pratique avec 10: et 4: pour entreprendre contre la religion en ce pays, et ausi contre le royaume, et en a montré ausy une aultre de Mons. de Rosse. Mais le Roy ayant par soupeon faict prendre prisonnier Quhittingem, il a confessé que son frere Maistre Archibald Douglas avoit contrefaict les dictes lettres, dont Maistre Bowis, qui estoit icy Ambassadeur pour la Royne d'Angleterre au mois de Septembre passé, en est participant, et qu'ilz les avoient envoyez à la Royne d'Angleterre, faigniens qu'elles avoient esté interceptées par les chemins; et ausi m'a voulu accuser que j'avois voulu transporter le Roy hors de ce pays, et pensoit par cestes calumnies me faire aller hors d'aupres de mon petit maistre, lequel m'a tant faict d'honneur de tenir mon bon droict, que le dict Randol s'en est retourné, sans avoir peu obtenir ce qu'il demandoit. Et pensions qu'a son partement les Anglois, qui sort sur les frontieres jusques a ♀ ou ♂ mil hommes, tant de pied que de cheval, durent entrer et se rallier avec aucquuns, les traistres et amys de Morton et Angous, mais ilz ne l'ont point faict encorres, et puisqu'ilz ont tant demeuréz, qu'ilz ne nous fairoient pas sitost la guerre, combien que pour cela nous ne laissons a nous tenir sur noz gardes. Or sy a la fin nous avons la guerre, (laquelle je vous puis asurer qu'elle ne commencera pas de nostre costé) c'est chose impossible que le Roy puisse resister, s'il n'a secours de France; parquoy je vous supplie d'en advertir la Royne et Mons^r. de Guise, afin que s'il ayme

la preservation de la mere et du filz, qu'il y preigne garde. Car la conservation de l'ung conserve l'autre, et s'il pouvoit tant faire (sy cela avient) d'avoir du Roy de France g: n/o hommes de pied, avec quelqu'argent et pouldre, pour estre envoyé icy ausytost qu'ilz en recepvront l'advertissement. Je m'assure que toute Escosse ne nous scauroit que faire. Car quant a Angous, et a tous les amys de Morton, ilz ne scauroient mettre tous ensemble g 60 chevaulx, et sy cela advient, je le supplye qu'il donne le commandement a mon cousing de Chemault, qui est icy avec moy, pour les amener, lequel ausytot que Morton sera depesché, partira pour s'en aller en France tout expres. Il servira beaucoup mieulx en cela, que nul aultre en la France, d'autant qu'il est cognu de tous les Seigneurs, et a l'honneur d'estre fort apuié du Roy. Vous communiquerez (s'il vous plaist) ceste lettre a Mons^r de Guise, auquel je baise tres humblement les mains, et le supplye de croire que je luy demeureray tous jours tres humble serviteur. Quant a votre part, sa majesté est fort aise de vostre bone volonté, et vous prie de la continuer, ayant pris en fort bone part l'offre que luy faictes de votre service.

Je vous envoie une licence du Roy pour Tomas Weirdy, lequel je vous supplye de faire venir icy en toute diligence, d'autant que c'est luy qui a acheté le poison dont feu le Conte d'Athol a esté empoisoné.¹ Assurez le qu'il ne recevra aucun mal, car l'on ne veult rien de luy que sa deposition, et si je luy fairay avoir de quoy vivre toute sa vie, et quand il viendra, qu'il s'en viene me trouver en quelque bien que je sais. Ausy je l'assure qu'il ne sera recherché des ministres, et s'il veult en apres s'en retourner en France, il le fera a sa volonté, et que ceci se face en toute diligence; et s'il veult, il ne bougera d'avec moy ou avec Madame d'Athol.

Outside:—

De Mons. le Conte de Lenox du xvijj Avril, 1581, par Grendiston, le xxij May, 1581, a Paris.

¹ It thus appears that it was intended at this time to charge Morton with the murder of the Earl of Atholl.

No. 26.

DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to ARCHEP. BEATOUN.

Monseigneur, combien que je n'ay receu jusques a cette heure reponse de celles que je vous ay escrit avec les lettres de la Royne d'Escosse, ay entendu par une de Robert Personio de 15 May estre arrivés a vous mains, et aussi avoir esté cause ce que vous ay dict sur l'offre que le Prince de Parme escrivoit luy avoir este faict par Guillaume Criton, de faire nouvelle communication sur les affaires qui par avant estoient resolues avec Mons. le Duc de Guise. Ce qui me deplait grandment, et aussi qu'il donnera occasion de penser le Duc de Guise que le Roy mon maistre estoit refroidi en telle negociation, et moy elongé de les solliciter, chose qu'est bien au contraire. Car n'estant arrivé par alors a mes mains les lettres, par lesquelles ay entendu depuis ce que vous et Mons. le Duc de Guise et les aultres avez trouvé bon, selon l'estat en que se trouvent pour le present les affaires d'Escosse, n'estant possible obtenir la conversion du dict royaume d'Escosse, sans faire ensemble celle d'Angleterre, ne trouverez estrange, et aussi M. le Duc de Guise que je sentirois que le Roy mon Maistre entenderoit tant de varietes en le retablissement de la vraie religion Catholique en Escosse, me pouvant culper que je n'entendisse l'estat des dictes affaires, et intention des Seigneurs de l'Escosse, puisque je luy escrivois tant diversement, et que cela seroit cause de delayer notre fin ; a raison de quoy j'ay escrit ce que vous ay dict en la mienne sur ce point. Combien que je n'ay grand entendement, ny aussi longue experience des matieres d'estat, comme il seroit besoein pour discourir en entreprinses de si grand poids je congnois toutes fois, avec mon peu de jugement, qu'il sera bien difficile pouvoir finir la conversion d'Escosse, sans achever aussi celle d'Angleterre, et que telles affaires ne se peuvent pas parachever, sans plus grand nombre de soldats de ceulx quilz demandent au Pape et au Roy de secours. Sur quoy je vous puis assevrer que j'ay faict de ma part ce qui m'a esté possible, escrivant ainsi au Roy comme au Pape, recommen-

dant ceste entreprinse et la bonne occasion qui s'offre, laquelle passée, difficilement en long temps se recupereroit une autre. Et sur cela j'ay depeché un courier expres, et pour le present je depeche un aultre, rescrivant a Madrid comme a Rome ce que je vous ay bien voulu dire, et vous prier de signifier a Mons. le Duc de Guise, faisant mes tres affectueuses recommandations de ma part, l'assurant sur la foy de gentilhomme et soldat, que le commandement que j'ay et tiens du Roy mon maistre, depuis que je suis en Angleterre, est de chercher tous les moyens possibles pour la conversion de ces deux roiaulmes, non pour autre fin sinon seul pour le respect du service de Dieu et augmentation de nostre sainte foy, et que pour tel effect, il ne laissera de donner toute assistance et ayde, ce que j'ay de longtemps signifié a la Royne d'Escosse, et faict ma possibilité pour les affaires en bon estat; en lesquelles je n'espargneray pour estre tant du service de Dieu, jusques a la derniere goutte de sang; asseurant derechef a M. le Duc, que, s'il ne seroit pour l'effect de telle negociation, jamais j'eusse demeuré tant de temps en Angleterre, encores que le Roy mon maistre me donnast le plus bel estat qu'il a en tous ses royaulmes, esperant en Dieu que fera tesmoignage la Royne d'Escosse que ce que j'ay passé et souffert pour tel respect, et aussi de l'affection avec laquelle je m'ay employé en tous les particuliers de son service, ce que j'ay tous les jours de ma vie, ne desirant chose plus que Dieu me donne la grace de veoir la fin de ceste entreprinse, estant soldat de Mons^r le Duc, auquel je serviray avec tant de volonté, comme a d'obligation pour le faire chacun qui oye son renom.

Je serois bien aise quod Pater Personius et Criton auroient larges instructions des forteresses 44 , et 45 , pour desembarquer les gens et aultres choses qui sont bien necessaires d'entendre, a fin de preparer le secours avec la celerité qu'ilz demandent.

Ceste Royne a donné grandes querelles à l'ambassadeur de France, disant avoir entendu que M. le Duc de Guise avoit envoyé en Escosse trois navires chargés de munitions et cent chevaux pour la garde du Roy. L'ambassadeur l'a denié. Priant le Createur, vous donner, Monseigneur, longe et heureuse

vie, me recommandant a vostre bonne grace. De Londres, a 6 de Junio. Don Bernardino de Mendoça.

Outside :

Reçu, le xvij Juin, 1582 : de Londres, le 6^{me} du dict moys.
D.B.M.

No. 27.

to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

Scripsimus vobis ex hoc loco die 25 Junii, quæ literæ tam vobis quam Alano erant communes, exinde hæc acciderunt. Die Martis ultimo, hora nobis constituta erat, qua regem convenire debebamus, sed eo ipse die incidit in podagram manus vehementem, ex qua coactus fuit mittere sanguinem et excludere omnem audientiam, indies tamen fere aliquid nuntii ab illo accepimus per ejus 145, et nunc convalescente ea promittitur nobis statim audientia, licet tota fere materia jam illi per 145 sit communicata, et videtur bene accepta, quamquam non est expectandum aliquid concludi posse antequam resoluti fuerint ex 107, inde nihil adhuc accepimus. Necessarium est ad causam nos frequentes a vobis litteras accipere, sicut nos multum 142 sine nostris prætermitemus. Summe consulunt hic ne quicquam in 104 præcipitetur ex nimia spe ante tempus. Hac hebdomada egreditur ex hac parte classis regia instructissima. Orate pro nobis. Ulissipone, 2 Julii. Salutate omnes quos scitis salutandos ex nostra parte. Humillimus Ricardo Millino.

Addressed :

Al Montsig. Rey^{mo} Archivescovo di Glasco, Ambassadors per Seren^{ma} Regina di Scotia In Parigi. Reçu, le xxvj Juillet, 1582, a Paris.

No. 28.

SECRETARY NAU to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

Monseigneur. En partye la rupture des intelligences de sa majesté par deça, en partye vostre absence hors de la Cour, et ma longue malladie au mesme temps, ont été cause de peu de charges et nouvelles de sa dicte majesté. Cest esté dernier depuis elle vous a escript fort amplement pour diverses negotiations, dont je desire l'issue aussi heureuse et briefve, que le maniment en est dangereux, principalement pour ceulx qui sont en cage. Je ne puis que redoubler mes doleances par les miennes plus grandes du mauvais estat ou je vois les affaires de sa majesté, estant prest de travailler, avec tout debvoir et dilligence, suivant vos ordres et advis, pour les retablir comme je proteste devant Dieu, n'y avoir obmis, jusques a present, aucune chose qui de ma part y peust servir; mais mes forces sont si faibles et tant contrariées et combatues par deça et ailleurs, que je suis contraint bien souvent ployer, pour ne demeurer sous le faix, et toutes foyz asseurez vous que le cœur ny la langue ne me manqueront pour remontrer et faire librement entendre, soit soubz mon nom, on d'aultruy, tout ce que l'on me donnera charge de proposer de votre part, ou que vous mesme me commanderez, ma resolution estant de suyvre, au plus pres que je pourray, vostre intention. J'approuve infiniment l'ouverture en faveur de M. Vetus, duquel je n'ay congneu rien moins que ce que vostre Secretaire m'en a mandé, et oultre il m'a tousjours este fort affectionne et bon amy, qui m'oblige davantage a faire pour luy en ceste occasion, si j'en avois le moyen. Mais sur la premiere instance que j'en ay voulu faire seulement en general, par maniere de discours, j'ay esté renvoyé bien loing, et depuis la vielle damoiselle, a qui on en a communiqué, en est tumbé en propos fort aigres contre vous, et aultres avec moy. Vous ne croyriez comme ce Monsieur le President luy est a cœur. Le dict Sieur n'a, que je sache, rien touché de se desfaire de son estat de chancelier; ce sera s'il en a intention par Senlis,

qui depend de luy. Monseigneur, si vous me permettiez de vous dire mon simple advis de vostre voyage de Poitou, et vous supplie bien humblement m'excuser, si je presume tant, il me semble le temps ny l'estat present des affaires de sa majesté ne le requérir, et qu'au contraire il vous importe de parachever le cours que vous avez si constamment tenu, en l'adversité de sa majesté, principalement sur le point qu'elle est de finir et changer en mieux, comme il me semble y voir les affaires fort acheminées et preparées. Sa majesté a esté fort grièvement malade, et vous puis dire que, par l'espace de deux jours, nous estions en tres grande doubte de l'yssue, telle qu'elle a esté. Je ne faudroy de vous envoyer la descharge que vous desirez pour l'envoy de l'advance de Mons^r de Chaulnes, sitost que Arnault aura renvoyé les particulieres qu'il a receues, a mesure qu'il a faict tenir ceste somme par parcelles, et diverses voyes; d'autant que oultre icelles, il demande une general, de façon que je voudrois faire servir la vostre pour luy, affin qu'il retire sa premiere que vous en avez, et de ne faire d'une mesme chose tant d'expeditions. Vous eussiez receu le mandement des besongnes d'orfevrie nagueres envoyé par Mons. Hotman, s'il en eust mandé le prix, mais il n'y avoit mesme aucun memoire de luy. Pour l'advenir je pense que ce serait le meilleur qu'il vous pleust envoyer a une foy les acquitz et descharges, estant fort dangereux de mettre aucune expedition hors de chiffre, parmi ces depesches secretes. Et sur ce, vous baisant tres humblement les mains, je prie Dieu qu'il vous donne longue et tres heureuse vie. A Sheffield, ce iij Mars.

Mons. Chasteau, s'il est de retour pres Mgr de Glasgo, trouvera icy mes humbles et affectionnées recommandations à ses bonnes graces, l'assurant que je travailleray par deça, pour la reconnoissance de ses services, et avec effect. Je le prie de faire tenir à Mons. du Russeau mon beau frere le mot cy encloz marqué Δ.

No. 29.

SECRETARY NAU to ARCHB^p. BEATOUN.

Je n'ay aultre subject pour le present de vous escrire, sinon puisqu'il plaise *a sa majesté* se servir de en ce voyage d' qui est, je proteste a Dieu, à mon grand regret, pour plusieurs respectz, il vous plaise luy departir vostre faveur en ce qu'il aura besoing pour faire reussir son dict voyage du contentement de *sa majesté et le bien de son service*, dont luy et moy nous demeurons obligez pour vous faire tres humble service selon notre simple pouvoir. Et en ceste devotion, je vous baise tres humblement les mains. Vostre bien humble et obeissant serviteur. NAU.

No. 30.

Instructions privées, données par la Royne d'Angleterre et le conseil privé de sa majesté a Nicolas Errington, Escuyer envoyé au Roy d'Escosse, le xxvj d'Octobre, 1581.

Sa majesté, trouvant par les advertissemens qu'elle recevroit de jour a aultre d'Escosse, que tout le but des actions du Duc de Lenox audiet Royaulme ne tendent à aultre fin que pour detruire la religion et dissouldre l'amitié avec ceste corone, elle a trouvé tres necessaire, pour eviter les dangers qui en pourroient ensuivre, si leurs desseins prenoient pied, que quelque chose doibt estre faicte pour y obvier de mesme. Et pour ce, sa majesté a conceu que vous estant envoyé au dict Royaulme, pour aultres siens affaires, pouvez, (soubz couleur de la charge à vous commise en vos instructions generales) avec tres grande opportunité, par les plus propres, aptz, et bien affectionnez instrumentz que trouverez par de là, le plus secretement que faire se pourra, adviser de quelque bonne voye, pour desappoincter l'intention et desseins dessus mentionnez, d'autant qu'il est icy estimé (non sans solide fondement) que rien ne peult plus avancer l'intention de sa

majesté, en cest endroit, que par quelque pratique secrette ou division entre le Duc de Lenox et le Conte d'Arran, ce qui quant a soy plus d'apparence de pouvoir estre executé, et avec moins de difficulté, s'il est vray (comme est rapporté) qu'il y a desja quelques desdain faict entre eulx, et s'il est entretenu de proz et poulcé par ceulx qui secretement pourrez employer en cella, il sera plus aysé à achever et mener à fin. Et en travaillant, debvez avoir speciallement esgard de ne rien attenter, si n'estes asseuré, ou par parolles du dict Aran, ou aultre tel asseuré moyen, que pourrez pratiquer en cest endroit, qu'il y soit de soymesmes à ce incliné. Si en conférant avec luy, ou autrement, le trouvez en opinion de rompre avec Lenox, et de se rendre a la devotion de sa majesté pour l'avancer, vous luy pourrez faire entendre que recentemente ay este advertye de France d'une consultation entre l'Archevesque de Glasgo, l'Evesque de Ross, et un certain Jesuiste Escossois pour les affaires de ce Royaulme, et fust resolu entre eulx, qu'en la conclusion de telles matieres, qui touchent le fondz et secret de leurs desseins, qu'on ne se devoit reposer ny fier a aulcun qu'ilz ne fussent recongnues pour asseurez et vrays Catholiques, et encore fut ce trouve expedient pour quelque temps, que luy et aultres de sa religion seroient employés jusques a ce que les affaires fussent menées a plus grande maturité, et aulx effects par eulx desirés. Sur quoy ilz peuvent colliger que leur intention est que luy, et aussi aultres de sa religion, ne seront employés que comme instrumentz pour y parvenir a leurs desseins. Parquoy il est à luy estre remonstré, qu'il sera aultant pour la seurté du Roy son maistre, que sauvetté de luy mesme, d'y avoir bon œil en cest affaire, et de considerer qu'il n'y a rien plus dangereux pour le dict Roy que de se allier de sa majesté, et du respect et bon vouloir d'Angleterre. Ce qui semble estre le principal dessein du dict Lenox. Et pour ce si luy, ou aultre, a regard a la cause des bonnes procedures de sa dicte majesté de temps en temps trouvera que tout le but de l'intention de sa majesté ne tend a aultre fin qu'à la preservation de sa personne, et de maintenir son royaulme en tranquillité, ce qu'elle prétend continuer, si par luy juste occasion ne soyt donnée au contraire. Et si

de fortune Aran dissimule, en vous remonstrant l'envye qu'il a de s'opposer a Lenox, ou si apres il change son opinion, de sorte qu'il faict le dict Lenox de ses advis a luy presentement données, vous ferez bien d'user de telles parolles a Aran touchant Lenox, que sa majesté n'a aucune mescontentement particulier de Lenox pour sa personne, ou advancement en credit, mais seulement pour le respect du bien du Roy, et pour la continuation de l'accord entre les deux Royaulmes, en quoy si elle se pouvoit asseurer que les actions de Lenox se peussent joindre avec sa bonne intention, elle n'auroit aucun mescontentement du dict Lenox ny de sa grandeur. Et quant a telz discours et alheurementz, qui sans doubte sont mis en advant par le dict Lenox, tendant a la dicte alienation de sa majesté, par luy désirée, assurant le dict roy qu'il aura pour ayde et support le Pape, Espagne et France, pour luy assister en tout ce qu'il pretendroit, ou pourroit estre persuadé d'entreprendre contre sa majesté, parceil sera expedient declairer au dict Aran, et telz aultres qui se laisseront mener par telles persuasions, en quel danger et peril le Roy leur maistre pourra tumber. Car, premierement, il est a considerer qu'ilz ne peuvent esperer aucun secours par ces Roys, sinon en renonçant la religion, surquoy telz inconvenientz ensuivront : premiere-ment, il encourra la disgrace de Dieu, la grande bonté duquel il a jusques icy par plusieurs voyes senti, et pour ce s'il l'abandonne ne peut faillir sentir sa dure main, comme aultres princes ont faict qui l'ont delaissé. Secondement, il perdra l'amitié qu'il a avec ceste corone, d'ou, comme tout le monde congnoist, pretend recevoir plus de commodité ou disadvantage, tout ainsi comme ses merites et desertz vers sa majesté le requeront. Finalement, il allumera une dissension en son royaume propre, par laquelle sa majesté (si de fortune il se monstre ingrat envers elle) pourra prendre tel avantage qu'il luy sera propre de bien deument considerer avant qu'en presenter quelque juste occasion d'offenser sa dicte majesté. Maintenant si l'estat de ses supporteurs, et ce qu'il peut pretendre d'eulx est deument considéré, premierement est aagé, et sans apparence de vivre longuement, et quiconque luy succedera, comme on voit communement, sera plus empesché à sa premiere entrée a son siege de pourvoir a sa familie et parents,

qu'aucunement prest a tenir a telles promesses, que par fortune seroient faictes par le Pape qui est a present. Et quant a l'Espagne et France, pour le premier, tout le monde voit comme il a les mains plaines du Pays Bas, et comment il est occupé de songner a conserver le Royaulme de Portugal, les subjectz naturelz du dict pays estant totalement allieuez de luy, comme il est à present en danger d'avoir la guerre contre le Turc pour les affaires d'Afrique et Barbarie. Maintenant s'il se laisse mourir, comme communement aucune année ne passe, qu'il ne soit en danger de sa vie, en quelle confusion il laisseroit son royaume et tout ses dominions a son jeune filz, tout le monde le voit, estant notoire que la pluspart d'iceulx sont entierement maintenus par force. Et quant a la France, se la pauvreté de ceste couronne là, l'estat maladif du Roy, la mauvaise affection de ses successeurs envers luy, desquelz elle s'en assure, et que de luymesme n'aura jamais lignée, la mauvaise opinion et mescontentement qu'il a de toute la maison de Guyse, d'ou le jeune Roy d'Escosse espere et pretend en avoir son plus grand support, tout ce considéré deuement, il semblera que c'est un fort foible et dangereux apuy. Mais soit que tous vivent, s'il est considéré quelz moiens sa majesté a pour les occuper en leurs mesmes Royaulmes, s'elle est pressée de se deffendre, les grandes forces qu'elle a tant par terre que par mer, la faction qu'elle aura en son propre pays s'il cherche aulcune changement ou alteration en la religion, se trouvera un tres dangereux conseil sur telz vains fondemens et persuasions embarasser un fort jeune prince en si dangereux peril et encombre. Et pour ce, si le mescontentement et mespris de Dieu, la foiblesse de ses supporteurs, la division en son propre Royaulme, l'amitié et faveur d'Angleterre, et les forces de sa majeste par mer et par terre sont deuement ponderés par tous ceulx qui seront bien affectez en ce Royaulme, ne pourront si regardent deuement aux perils qui pourront en suyvre a leur Roy par iceles, que chercher par tous moiens possibles d'empescher le cours de ses violentes entreprinses, et donner conseil au Roy de chercher affectueusement la bonne affection de sa majesté envers luy, et specialement de dependre de son conseil et faveur. Il est aussi expedient que vous vous addressiez a telz que vous

trouverez bien affectionnez a ceste coronne, avec l'ouverture contenue en vos instructions generales, proposée par la Royne d'Escosse pour la resignation de son tiltre a ceste corone au Roy son filz, comme chose de luy désiré, leur faisant entendre si son tiltre par aulcune telle requeste pourroit estre mis en question, et controverse, il ne peult estre que fort dangereux a ceux qui donnerent leur voix et consentement aux estatz de remouvoir la Royne d'Escosse, et d'autant plus qu'il est apparent que la dicte resignation se fera avec telles conditions desquelles sa majesté a veu un project, qui est la coppie qui vous est envoyee, et oultre la confusion que peuvent engendrer au Royaulme, ne peult qu'effectuer la rompture et divorce de la bonne amitié entre les deux coronnes. Et pour ce leur conviendra, si telle chose y est attentée, de prévoir songneusement et pourvoir a l'inconvenient qui pourra ensuivre de la. Et si de fortune la dicte resignation ne tend qu'a fortifier le tiltre du Roy, sans mettre en question la validité des dictz estatz, par lesquelles l'autorité regale luy a esté commise, lors il n'est expedient qu'aucune opposition se face. Finalement, vous fairesz entendre aux biens affectéz par de'a, combien soigneuse est sa majesté pour le bien et advancement de ce Royaume, et de maintenir la religion qui est la exercée, avec assurance qu'elle ne faultra en toute opportunité qui se presentera de faire toutes choses qui sont a son pouvoir pour la preservation et continuation d'icelle. Et si de ce vous trouvez inclination en ceux qui sont de qualité pour entrer en faction par promesse a tel effect, pour oster toute scrupule qui par fortune pourroit estre concue par aulcuns d'iceux, que ce mesme peult estre dangereux au Roy, et prejudicialle a eulx, il est a leur estre remonstre que sa majesté ne desire promesse ny faction en ce Royaulme qu'avec les conditions qui suivent :—Que la Religion soit maintenue—la personne du Roy preservée—la tranquillité du Royaulme continuée—Servitude estrangere evitée—les biens affectez aux gentilshommes en disgrâce du Roy remis en sa faveur—reciproque justice sera usé contre les transgresseurs, tant par mer que par terre—et l'amitié entre les deux Royaulmes continuée. Et pour aultant qu'en l'estat troublé, tout plain de factions, le Roy, estant mené par les passions de ceux de la noblesse la, desquelz il

est possédé, il pourra estre que beaucoup de pointz contenuz aussi bien en ces presentes, comme en vos instructions generales, seroient mieulx obliées que mise en advant, et pour ce a esté trouue expedient que soient laissez a votre discretion d'en user, comme vous trouverez convenient et agreeable aux circonstances du temps, et la presence de ceulx avec lesquels vous aurez a traicter.

Datté a Richemont, le xxvj d'Octobre, 1581.

W. BURGHLEY.

JAMES CROFTES.

CHR. HATTON.

FRA. WALSLINGHAM.

APPENDIX C.

CORRESPONDENCE AS TO THE SURRENDER OF QUEEN MARY TO THE EARLS OF MAR AND MORTON.

No. 1.

I have receaved your lordshipes letters of the 29 of Septem- Cal. c. iii.
bre the 5 of this present, and shall vse all myne indovour to f. 370.
follow the contentes thereof, lyke as hetherto I have mytted
no occasion I trust that might farther the same. Therle of
Morton is wylling of hyt the Regent, as I wrote so newhat
doubtfull, but he tolde me hem selfe yesterday, that assone as
my Lord of Morton shall Retorne from Dakeyth, he wyll con-
fer with hem, and gyve me suche aunswer as shall be reason-
able; yf hyt be according to therle of Mortons awne mynde, I
am sure yt wyll sarve the Torne. I besich your honours in
this meane tyme to beare with me, and to thinke I see the
real necessytye bothe have of this thing, which I leave no
meanes vnsought to bring to passe. I found the humors
here strange, which, I thanke God, by the helpe of the late
alteration in france, be myche changed; but for all that, on-

Cal. c. iii. lesse the kings part be otherwyse looked on, I feare you can
 f. 370. not Reape that good of them as otherwyse you might. I leave
 hyt to your wysdoms to considre. As for the Castylliance, I
 am yet fully persuaded "yet"¹ that they vse the french cource,
 and hoope by that meanes to ouerthrow ther aduersarys in
 thend, who were euer bowing that way for want of other
 helpe, and therbye to avoyd the malicius intentes of ther
 f. 370, b. aduersaryes, who now are forced for want of support (which the
 Castyllianse have from france) to agrye to a longue absti-
 nence, in myne opynion to ther hurte, I meane the Regentes
 partye, as all other abstynences haue bin to them by ther
 awne confession; but necessitye hathe no law, they looke for
 no fayth in ther aduersaries but for more hurt during this
 abstynence then they receaved during the warres. I haue
 not hetherto bin moved for any thing by them but for ayde
 in generall termes, and I wyll them to be of good chere, say-
 ing that yf they shall shew them selves assured fryndes to
 her Majestie, she wyll not se them ouerthrowen. I wyll them
 farther to make some ouertures, and to sett downe in wrighte-
 ing ther desires, and "they" the good may growe to bothe
 realmes by obteynning the same, which therle of Morton sayth
 he wyll cause to be done shortly after de Crocques departure,
 who takyth his iornay this day towards Barwick. As I have
 wrighten, to Mr Secretary Morton is the only man for her
 Majesties taccont² of in this Realme, and therfore to be con-
 siderd of accordingly. When any ouerture shalbe made to me
 of ther desires, your honour may Jug what a large fylde I shall
 have to amplyfye the errand I chyfly come for. I wold her
 Majestie wold aunswer the Regentes letter with som comfort,
 which letter I sent long sythens, and also to incourage therle
 of Morton to contynue in his good devotion.

f. 371. The Post Scrypt of your Lordships letter I aunswer thus: I
 trust to satisfye Morton; and for John Knox, that thing you
 may se by my dispatche to Mr Secretary is don and doing
 dayly, the people in generall well bent to Ingland, abhorring
 the fact in France and fearing ther Tirany. John Knox is
 now so feble as scarce can he stand a lone or speak to be
 hard of any audience, yet dothe he euery sonday cause hem

¹ Erased in MS.² To account.

selfe to be karyed to a place where a certayn nombre doe here Cal. c. iii.
 hem and precheth with the same vehemencye and zeale that f. 371.
 euer he did. He dothe Reuerence your Lordship myche, and
 wylled me once agayn to send you worde that he thanked
 god he had obtayned at his handes that the Gosple of Jesus
 Chryst is trwly and simply preached thorow Scotland, which
 dotthe so comfort hem, as he now desiryth to be out of this
 myserable lyffe. He sayd further, that it was not long of your
 Lordship that he was not a great buschope in England; but
 this effect growen in Scotland, he being an instrument, doth
 myche more satisfye hem. He desired me to make his last f. 371, b.
 comendations most humbly to your Lordship, and withall that
 he prayed god to increse his strong spiret in you, saying
 ther was neuer more nead, and quod he to me take heade how
 you belyue them of the Castle, for sure they wyll deceave
 you; and trust me, I know they seake nothing more then the
 Rwyne of your masteres, which they have bin about of long
 tyme. For lydyngtons cuming into England I think you be sa-
 tisfyed in som of my former letters that he meanyth nothing
 lesse, and therefore I pray you to conside the Course he
 takyth, which is cleane Contrary to ours in this treatye by
 consent of therle of Morton and the Regent. I haue done all
 offices to content the Castyllance, all beinge granted that they
 cold Require, in hoope they wold haue stode to their promes,
 and hand wright gyven heretofore that they would lett her
 Maiestie be Jug of ther controversye; but when yt cummyth to
 the pynch, they "scrynk" fynd evasions; whereas, as yf they
 wold haue bydden by ther worde, I had obtayned of the lord
 a sufficyent grant to make an indifferent peace, to the satisfac-
 tion of all parties, and specially them of the castle, without of-
 fence of thother syde. Your honours most bounden,

H. KYLLEGREW.

No. 2.

The aduertismentes I wrote in my last of the 6000 frankes f. 372.
 which the Castyll had Receaved out of France is confirmed
 agayn vnto me by Mr Marshall spiall, and farther that the

Cal. c. iii. Captayn thereof hathe made assured promes to kepe the
 f. 372. castell to the french kinges devotion. He lookyth also for his brother with more mony, and for ayd out of France to wreyke his aduersaries before the next abstynence be expired, which shall contynew tell the sixt of decembre, as we "hath" haue hetherto agryed. Le Croc goyth to hasten thayd, and to lett the King vnderstand what a partye he may haue here. "Yt" he semed to be carelesse of thabstynence as yt apperyth, for in dead he hathe don nothings to procure hyt, but Rather to haue leyft them as well in war as in devysion. He makyth account of the duc and therles of hontley and athol with the Castyllians. The captain, as I am informed, hathe a pension of the french king of 1000 frankes by yere, new brought hem. Other pensions he hathe offered, but I know not who hathe Receaved any more.

Thus haueing aunswered so myche of your honours letters as I can for this tyme, I humbly Reffer you for the Reast of my negotiation here sythence my last to Mr secretary letters. [I] besich almighty god to preserve your honors.

At Edembourg this 6 of Octobre 1572. By your good lordshippes most bounden,

H. KYLLIGREW.

f. 372, b. *Address*:—To the right honorable my Singuler good Lordes my Lord Tresorer of England, [a]nd to the right honorable [Er]le of Lester.

Endorsement:—6 Octobre 1572. Mr Killigrew to my lord, from Edenbrough.

No. 3.

f. 373. My singuler good lordes, what hathe passed here sythence my last touching the comon cause I haue wrighten to Mr Secretary at length. Now for the great matter you wott of at my being at Dakeyth with my lord Regentes grace, Therle of Morton, and he had conference, *and bothe vylling to doe the thing you most desire*, howbeyt I cold haue no aunswer ther, but that *bothe thought yt thonly way and the best way to end all*

troubles as yt were in bothe Realmes. They told me, notwithstanding, the matter was dangerus, and might com so to passe as they shold draw a warr vppon ther headdes, and in that case, or Rather to stoppe that peryll, they wold desire her maiestie shold enter in league defensyve, comprehending therin the cause of Religion also. We came to nearer termes, to wytt, that her maiestie shold for a certayn tyme pay the som that her highnes bestowyth for the keping of her in Ingland to the preservation of this Crowne, and take the protection of the yong king. All this I hard, and sayd if they thought yt not proffyttable for them, and that yf they ment not to wyll me to wright earnestly as ther desire, I wold not moue my pen for the matter, whereat *Therle of Morton* f. 373, b. *Raysed hem selfe in bed and sayd that bothe my Lord Regent and he did desire hyt as a sufferayn salue for all ther sores,* howbeyt yt cold not be don withoute som maner of serymonye and a kynd of proces, whereonto, the noblemen must be called after a secret maner, and the Clergy lykwyse, which would aske som tyme. Also that yt wold be Requyset her Maiestie shold send suche a convoy with the partye, that in case ther awne people wold not lyke of hyt, they might be able to kepe the field, adding forther that yf they can bring the noblytye to consent, as they hoope they shall, they wse not kepe the prysoner 3 howres a lyffe after he¹ com into the boundes of Scotland; but I, leaueing of these devises, desired to know indeed what they wold haue me wright, and yt was aunswered that I shold know forther of my Lord Regentes grace here; so as this morning, a lytle before dyner, going to take my leaue of hem, "he," as he was going towards sterling, he tolde me, touching that matter which was comoned vppon at Dakyth, he founde yt very good and the best Remedye for all diseases, and wylled me so to wright vnto your honours, neuerthelesse that yt was of great wayght, and Therfor he wold aduise hem of the forme and maner how yt might best be brought to passe, and that knowen, he wold conferr more at length with me in the same. Thus toke I f. 374. my leaue of hem, and fynd hem indeed more cold then Morton, and yet he semed glad and desirous to have hyt com to

¹ *Sic* in original.

- Cal. c. iii. f. 374. passe. The parliament, som thinke, must be called vppon a sodayn, and as yt were for som other cause, or they can pro-syd by ordre of Justyce, for altho she be condemned as worthye of her demyssion, and art and part as they termed of the morthor of her husband, yet was she not Jugged to dye for the same. Weather this be an excuse to delay tyme, I leave your honours to Jug; but sure I am, the most part of the noblytye, all the borows *and mynsters, wolde be Ryght glad of hyt.* This is all I can get out of these men hetherto, and "therefore I" doe refferr the valew thereof to your honours Jugment, besiching your aunswer with speed by this bearer, that yf this wyll not sarve your torne I may be Revoked, as your honour may doe the same conveniently with her maies-ties sarvice. I made a motion at Dakyth to haue the kinges part to comytt ther dyfferent to the Quenes Maiesties, be-cause yt might be a Covre.¹ My abode here after Monsieur de Crocques departure, what aunswer I had is wrighten in my letters to Mr Secretary, with som other Requestes my Lord
- f. 374, b. Regent and Therle of Morton made to me to wright vnto her most excellent Maiestie, bothe touchinge the borders and the keping or dyscharging of ther soldiers here, besyching your Lordships to hasten this bearer with thaunswer vnto them. And your farther wylls how I shall *deale in this great matter, which hathe bin moved by them, and not by my selfe, as a thing put in ther headdes by a trustye and wyse instrument, who hathe had the dealing in hyt heretofore, Mr N. Elueston by name,* who provoked them to move hyt vnto me. I sent vp this moring (*sic*) to my Lord of Lydington to know weather he wold make aunswer to your lordships letters, and he sent me these inclosed. Myne opynion of hem and his faction is all Readye by others of myne knowen vnto your honours, and therefore I wyll trouble you no farther at this tyme, besyching Almightye God to haue you allways in his blessed keping. From Edenbourg this 9 of Octobre 1572. Your honours most bounden during lyfe,

H. KYLLYGREWE.

What I shall here more of this matter, as I am made be-

¹ Cover.

lyue I am lyke to doe shortly, I wyll aduertys your honours with all speade. Cal. c. iii.
f. 374, b.

Addressed:—To the Right Honorable my singuler good lord [the] l. of Bourghley, high [Tr]esoror of Inglande. f. 372, c.

Indorsed:—9 Octobre 1573. Mr Killigrew to my l.

No. 4.

Altho ther be that doe assure me that the Regent hathe after a sorte moved this matter to ix of the best of ther partye, to wytt, that yt were fytt to make a humble Request to the Quenes Maiestie to haue hether the cause of all ther troubles, and to doe dye who haue consented to hem, and that I am also borne in hand that bothe he and Therle of Morton doe by all Dexterytye prosyde in the fortherance thereof; yet can not I assure my selfe of any thing, because I see them so inconstant, so devided, and so "sho" slow in seaking ther awne weale; and therefore doe besich your Lordship that yf any other way is to be had lett this be the last. I am also told that the hostages haue bin talked of, and that they shal be delyuered to our men upon the fyldes, and the matter dyspached within 4 houres, so as they shall not need to tarry long in our handes; but I lyke not ther maner of dealing, and therefore leaue hyt to your wysdom to consydre yf you wyll laue me contynw to gyve eare, and aduertys I shall; yf not, I pray your lordship lett me be called hence. They wold gladly ioyne them selves in a league defensyve for Religion with her Maiestie, but that can not be contracted but by bandes after the Scotisch maner, for ther king is vnder age and the Contry devyded. f. 375.

They of the Castle be veary Jocond, and gyve forth tales as tho ther Queen shold be home shortly. What yt meanyth I know not, but yt apperyth ther shold be som thretteinge message sent from beyond the seas vnto her maiestie to that end.

Thus leauing to trouble your honour any farther, I end,

Cal. c. iii. besiching almighty god to preserve bothe you and yours.
 f. 375. At Edenbrough this 9 of Octobre, by your honours most bounden,

H. KYLLYGREW.

No. 5.

f. 376. Sythence my letters vnto your honours of the ix of this present, I have bin at Dakyth, and conferred with my Lord of Morton apon too poyntes, thone of the great matter, and how caldly my Lord Regentes grace had aunswered me therin; thother to presse hem to fram an aunswer to the forme of assurance exhebyted by the Castylliance: and after long debating, we fell to this conclusion, that bothe was necessary to be considered of out of hand, and therfor he desired me that the abbott of Domferling and the clerke of the Registre might com vnto hem the next morning, which was the 12, by whom he wold send vnto the Regentes grace his full mynde, and a swre way how to prosyde in the great matter, which, yf the Regent wold not accept and follow with all possible dillygence, he wold hem selfe and his fryndes vndertake the matter. And that this matter may be colored, he sendyth thether with them the Justice Clerk, for framing such an aunswer to the demand of the Castylliance as may stand with the kinges swrtye and ther honour to grant vnto, which being sean by her Maiestie and her counsell, he trustyth wylbe founde Reasonable.

f. 376, b. These men are to be at Sterling the 15 of this present, and I ther in lyke wyse, to presse the Regent to the spedye furtherance of a peace, and from thence I shalbe able to wrighte more certaynly in bothe these matters then hetherto I cold. I perceave more and more dayly the weaknes of these men in dispatcheing wayghtye affayres, and I fynd Therle of Morton and these too mynsters veary hott and earnestly bent in the matter. Morton is leutenant generall on this syde tay, and by that authorityte, with som seremony of a Running parliament, which is in force presently, he myndyth to take this matter in hande yf the Regentes grace shalbe slow and colde

in the "matter" same. These parties are also to deale with the Contesse of Mar for her fortherance, which they hoope to bring to passe, because they haue concluded the mariage betwix therle of Anguysch and the Regentes daughter, wherevnto I did not a lytle helpe to make a sounde fryndshipe betwyne them. Therle of Morton assured me that the chyffest cause he condessendid vnto hyt at this tyme was for the fortherance of the great matter, and told me withall that yf the Regent did not Imbrasse yt earnestly yt shold make hem thinke twyse of the matter. Cal. c. iii.
f. 376, b.

Therle and I had long talke of matters past, and of some tales which had bin told agaynst hem, wherebye her maiestie was made his heavye ladye, to which matters I did satysfiye hem, and that yt was the treatye and league with France which made her maiestie and her Counsell withdraw ther dealing in Scotland, but now the deceit thereof apperyth, he shall fynde her maiestie and my Lords of her Counsell to be the same towards the king and his state, and to his Lordship in particuler, "as" that they have shewen them selves to be heretofore. He sayd that the coldnes vsed had almost alyenated a great many, and won them in a maner to be french, altho, for his awne part, "yt" he did see that the depending vppon her maiestie was most expedient, bothe for ther king and estates in particuler, and sayth he, yf her maiestie shall now be contented to ayd vs with som what to pay our soldiers, whereby we be not discredyted, but that we may haue them with vs to this Rode appon the thendes of the borders, yt wyll wyu her maiestie all the kinges partyes hartes more assured then euer they were. I aunswered that the tyme was dangerous, and her maiestie had to doe with men and mony for the deffence and garde of her awne, notwithstanding yf I cold haue bin able with that Request to haue gyven som good assurance to performe the great matter, I wold not doubt but your good Lord wold haue so delt with her maiestie as ther desires shold haue bin satisfied, and sayd farther yt was the swrytye and knitting of bothe Realmes in a league defensyve, and without that aman cold promes nothing. These and many suche lyke "freakes," freaches passed, as also how necessary yt is now for them to thinke apou a peace, and to f. 377.

Cal. c. iii. procure hyt by all the meanes they can possible. My reasons
 f. 377, b. and considerations did so move hem, as he desired me, as I wrote before, to cause the too persons above mentioned to com vnto hem. I the next day went to the Castle and delt lykwyse with them, whom I founde more Reasonable then before I had don, and told them I had bin at dakyth to presse for an aunswer to ther demandes, and not to be Idele nor to suffer this abstynence to be spent, as the last was, without doing any good, for the Quene my mistresses intent was that I shold vse all good meanes to bring them to a perfayct accord, and therefore desired them "selfes" to inclyne ther selves that way, which I shold belyve they wold doe when I shold se them wylling to Reffer ther Controversies to her Maiestie, because among them selves I was sure they cold not be taken vp, and the french king was far of, and his Imbassadour not lyke to be here in tyme to be a meane betwyne them, wherby they might easily se he Rather he Rather(*sic*) intended devisiõ then vnion. They confessed no lesse vnto me, and sayd they looked shortly to here from the duc and erle of hontlye, and that for suche an aunswer as shold content me. They wold fayne haue me grant vnto them that yf they did put the matre into the Quenes handes, I shold promes them the keypyng of the Castle, and a statute for the swrtye in that forme which they had drawen, and farther som Relyffe to the paymeit of ther deabtes, also my lord Hume to be restored to his lowse and landes. I sayd I wold promyse them nothing, but they might assure them selves that the Quene my souerayn wold not make any accord but with equall and good conditions, according to the degryes of the partes, and the kinges swrtye and honour once provydd, for that she wold haue Respect to the necessytye of a good peace at this tyme, which cold not be yf she shold gyve any sentence that might alynanat ether partye from the same, or to myslyke the conditions therof. Yf I may gett both partes once to Reffer ther controversies to her maiesties decision, I wyll hoope a good peace wyll follow, and that shortly, for I fynd therle of morton well inclyned, and the Castyllians of late, what so euer they haue hard more conformable.

f. 378, b. Trw yt is that I have held them short, and caused som

speeches to fall that hathe com to ther eares, as though her
 maiestie taking ordre for defense ouer all her Realme, and
 hering of Strozzi cuming hether, had determynd to send v^m
 men to these fronters. What this hathe wrought I know not,
 but Lydington is styll inquisytie of me what Comysion I
 have to aunswer my lord Hume yf a peace shold follow. I
 besich your lordship therfore to send me instructions in these
 poyntes, and suche other as you thinke necessary, for I have
 none in particuler, and therfor can aunswer no particuler de-
 mand they make but in generall termes. As to this poynt of
 my Lord Hume, I have sayd that yf a good peace be con-
 cluded, I think her maiestie wyll not kepe any foot of land of
 his, etc. Yf a peace grow, and the great matter take place, it
 must neades be that Lydington com into England, bothe
 tadovyd practis here agaynst the Regymnt, as also by his
 being in England to kepe all his faction and partye at her
 maiesties devotion, and that is the consideration. Withhall, I
 think yt wylbe the Rather condesseded that Grange shall
 kepe the Castle yf Lydington be out of the Realme.

After I shall haue bin at Sterling, and seane these matters
 better framed, I shall send Captayn Ethrington with them. In
 this meane tyme I humbly besich your honour to kepe them
 in hoope of Relyffe of ther soldiers, otherwyse I feare I shalbe
 to doe small service here; but in that and all other matters
 I Reffer me to the consideration of your wysdoms, and shall
 pray to god from the bottom of my hart to assist you with
 his holly and mightye sprytt in this dangerous dayes. Sure
 my Lord, with good dealing from you, I thinke this nation
 wold be brought to sarve her maiestie to great porpose, as the
 world is marry. Yt most be som what elles then bare wordes
 that must bynde them.

At Edenbourg this 13 of Octobre. By your honours most
 bounden,
 H. KYLLYGREW.

Addressed:—To the Right Honorable my lord Tresorer of f. 379, b.
 England, [and to] the Right Honorable [Th]erle of Leycester,
 yeue these.

Endorsed:—13 Octobre 1572. M^r Killigrew to my L. T.
 & Erle of Leicester.

APPENDIX D.

Although the confession of the Earl of Bothwell has disappeared, the following contemporary paper in French is preserved in the royal library at the Castle of Drottningholm in Sweden.—See the Bannatyne Club Papers for 1829, “*Les affaires du Comte de Boduel*.” In this narrative, of which we can hardly doubt that Bothwell supplied the materials, he naturally seeks to conceal his own share of guilt, and to throw the entire blame of Darnley’s death upon Murray, Morton, and their associates. The translation of this paper is reprinted from the Appendix to the third edition of the ‘*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*,’ by Henry Glassford Bell, late Sheriff of Lanarkshire, whose recent death has been so widely and so justly deplored.

MEMOIR OF EARL BOTHWELL’S AFFAIRS IN THE YEAR 1568.

To the end that the King of Denmark, and the Council of this kingdom, may better and more clearly understand the wickedness and treachery of my accusers, hereafter mentioned, I have, as briefly as possible, related, and truly declared, the causes of the disturbances and commotions which have happened, of which they themselves alone are the principal authors and originators, since the year 1559 until the present time. I have likewise narrated their calumnies, not forgetting the great dishonour and injury they have done to me.

All which things I can and will maintain to be true, as, by the help of God, every one may clearly see and understand. Copenhagen, on the Eve of Epiphany, 1568.

Here followeth a list of the names of the principal chiefs and authors of all these disturbances and seditions :—

The Earl of Murray,	The Lord Lindsay,
Athol,	The Secretary Lethington,
Glencairn,	The Clerk Register,
Morton,	The Clerk of Justice.
Marr,	

Item of those who have united with the above-named noble-men in these last disturbances:—

The Lords Hume,	Tullibardin,
Sanquhar;	The Provost of Edinburgh,
Sempel,	Sir James Balfour.
Rathven,	

The above-named Lords, being weary of the obedience and fidelity which they owed their superior, commenced agitations and the forming of secret assemblies throughout the kingdom, wishing to seduce the multitude to favour their enterprises; and, in order to persuade them the more readily of the goodness and justice of the cause, they made a pretext of religion, the preservation of which they pretended to be their aim. Thus, the conspiracy which they had formed against their queen—many other points and articles of their guilt I omit—began by the siege of the town of Leith; and their efforts against her majesty, and the Lords of her Council, as well as against her other faithful subjects of the said town, were unremitted. They likewise persecuted those who resided in their houses in the country, when they refused to join them, doing to them all the injury they could, plundering their houses and castles, and, throughout the country, effecting much mischief to several persons of wealth, notwithstanding that the queen, together with the secular nobility and some others of her subjects, previously had resolved to reform the religion, and establish it on such a footing, that they should be in no manner aggrieved thereby. They, however, not being satisfied with this, persevered in their evil machinations; and, in order to re-excite new disorders, they gave free entry to the English, our ancient enemies, allying themselves, and treating with them secretly against the queen and the subjects of her kingdom. They besieged again the town of Leith, (having formerly been compelled to raise the siege of that place,) in order to drive away, by their forces, the French who guarded the said city against the attacks of our ancient enemies aforesaid.

His most Christian Majesty had some time before espoused the young Queen of Scotland, which caused the secular no-

bility, and other subjects of the said kingdom, to enter into certain engagements with him, and even by letters which they sent by their ambassadors to France, to offer him their faithful service, according to the devoir of good subjects. I am, however, ignorant of the reason which prompted them to do this.

The cause
and com-
mence-
ment of
their ha-
tred to-
wards me.

In the mean time, by means of the succours which they received from England, the aforesaid town (Leith) was surrendered by a treaty made between her said majesty and the Queen of England, which was arranged by their ambassadors, and by which it was stipulated, that all hatred and rancour on both sides should be extinguished. Their hearts, however, were so envenomed, that they never ceased seeking out those who had formerly offended and annoyed them during the said siege ; me, in particular, who, unworthy of such a favour, had, by the queen my mistress, been chosen lieutenant-general, to provide for the emergencies of the war ; during which, I, according to the laws of arms, made several prisoners, both Scotch and English, always acting to the best of my ability, and conducting myself as my duty required. I also took, on the frontiers, a certain sum of money coming from England, destined for the pay and maintenance of their soldiers.

The queen
returns to
Scotland
from
France.

A short time after the surrender of the town of Leith, and the return of the French to their country, his most Christian Majesty died. Then the queen, by the advice of her friends, and conformably with the request of her faithful subjects, resolved to return to her kingdom. This she did, in order that she might, with more convenience, maintain and strengthen the alliance and treaty aforesaid, and also in order to recompense the faithful services of her said subjects during her absence. Me she rewarded much more liberally and honourably than I had merited. This displeased my enemies to such a degree, that, by their slanderous fictions and malice, they caused the queen to change her singular favour and goodwill towards me. They likewise caused the Earls of Arran and Huntly to be driven into exile : this they did because the Earl of Arran was nearly related to the queen, and might succeed to the crown. The Earl of Huntly and myself they exiled, because they suspected that we might hinder their design.

The principal in this sedition was the Earl of Murray, a bastard son of her said majesty's father, formerly a canon and prior of St Andrews, who thought that our ruin would be greatly to his advantage, and hoped, when we were defeated, that he would easily accomplish his purpose, which was to become the second person in the kingdom; and, after that, he would so manœuvre that the queen, the secular nobility, and all the other subjects, and in general all the states of Scotland, should unanimously consent to his being declared heir to the crown, the title reverting to his progeny, or his near relations, in case the queen should die without issue.

Murray's
subtle
measures
and con-
trivances
in order to
succeed to
the crown.

In order to have a pretext for his arrogance, he circulated the false report, that the Earl of Arran and myself (having a short time before been reconciled, after a difference which existed between us,) had resolved to put him to death, and also some of the Lords of the Council; likewise that I intended to take the queen by surprise, and carry her off to some one of my country houses, which ever I should think most secure.

In consequence of these false accusations, it was ordered that we should be confined in close prison in Edinburgh Castle, although we had previously demanded to be heard in this cause, and proceeded against as was usual in all such cases: but this was not permitted.

Our im-
prison-
ment.

The Earl of Huntly having been charged with the same crime, and not entertaining any suspicion, was taken un-awares, on a journey in the country, and secretly put to death, by the said Earl of Murray. The son of the said Earl of Huntly was also taken, indicted, and condemned, and all his houses and property confiscated to the crown.

The Earl
of Huntly
taken and
put to
death.

When I heard of this horrible murder, and of this unjust persecution, I considered by what means I might ascertain what will the queen bore toward me, and at length I was told that she well knew that I was accused from hatred and envy: she could, however, in no manner aid or assist me, as she herself had no authority at all; but she recommended me to do my best for my deliverance.

This answer made me exert myself to get out of prison; and when I was at large, I determined to go to France by sea, but storm and tempest drove me toward England, where

I was
made Cap-
tain of the
Scottish
Guard.

the Queen of England showed me great friendship ; and some of her faithful servants treated me with great kindness ; indeed much more than I had ever expected, particularly as, during the war, I had done irreparable injuries on the frontiers, and even to the inhabitants of that country. I then, pursuant to my plan of going to France, left England, having received certain letters from the Queen of Scotland, sent to me by her before I left England, for his most Christian Majesty, and the Lords of his Council, desiring that I might enjoy those *privileges*¹ with which the nobility of my country are honoured there, in conformity with ancient treaties arranged between the two kingdoms aforesaid, France and Scotland. Being thus provided with these letters, and having proceeded to France, I received others from the Queen of Scotland, by which she ordered me to return to Scotland for the reasons following :—

The Queen
of Scot-
land mar-
ries a
young
prince of
the name
of Henry
Stuart.

The queen having understood their cunning and evil designs, and wishing to establish good order and police in her kingdom, for the benefit and comfort of her subjects, resolved to marry a young prince of her own blood royal, who, accordingly, had arrived from England. She expected, (and with reason,) that no person could or would pretend to lay any impediment in the way of the match : this, however, the agitators aforementioned did to the utmost of their power, wishing, above all things, that the queen should have no children, for the reasons already stated ; and, moreover, they could not endure that anybody should have any authority in the kingdom but themselves ; and they foresaw that they would be deprived of authority by the said marriage.

The third
sedition,
and the
plans of
my ene-
mies.

For this reason, having deliberated about the matter, they determined to put the said prince to death ; and they assembled their friends and accomplices for this purpose. Likewise, a short time after the nuptials of the said queen and of the said prince, the said conspirators determined to seize the queen—to carry her away captive, and detain her as a prisoner, as they also most wickedly did afterwards, contrary to pledged faith and promises, and the conditions to which

¹ *Estatz* is the French word.

they altogether had agreed, as will be seen from that which follows.

I being now returned from France, the queen intrusted me with the command of a number of soldiers, her faithful subjects and my particular friends, by whose assistance I endeavoured to chase the said Earl of Murray out of the kingdom of Scotland into England; and this I effected. In the mean time all the states of the kingdom were assembled, in order to take cognisance of and judge of such property as might be confiscable to the crown.

There were some of the accomplices of the said Earl of Murray following the court of the queen, who, in order to prevent the execution of the sentence pronounced against him, excited new disorders, by means of the murder perpetrated on a person called Signor David, the Italian, which was committed in the queen's saloon, in the palace of Edinburgh, while she was at supper, where none of her guards were present, nor even any of those who usually waited on the queen. If some noblemen and myself had not avoided the danger, by escaping through a back window of the palace, we should have received the same treatment, for such was the determination they had come to; or at least we should have been compelled to give our approval to so wicked and horrible a transaction.

This murder having been perpetrated by the counsel and instigation of the said Earl of Murray, the said earl returned from England, hoping to get the government into his own hands, and to detain the queen as a prisoner, whom they already before sufficiently confined in her own residence of Holyroodhouse.

In order to give some pretext to this murder, they said that they had received an express command from the king, and, for greater surety, even letters under his seal.

Having left the said queen's palace, and finding ourselves in security, we gathered our most intimate friends, her majesty's faithful subjects, together, in order to deliver her, and the king her husband, from the captivity in which they were kept; and this we effected, partly by stratagem and partly by force. The day following, their majesties went together towards Edinburgh, with a good number of people, and pursued

The conspirators driven out of the country.

Fourth sedition, caused by the death of Signor David.

The Earl of Morton, Lord Lindsay, Lord Ruthven, and others.

Their false pretences, in order to give a colour to the said murder.

4000 men. The Earl of Murray driven away a second time.

The Declaration of the King of Scotland respecting the letters and permission which the said murderers stated themselves to have received from his majesty.

The hatred which they conceived against the king, on account of his declaration.

The cunning by which they executed their design.

the said Earl of Murray and his accomplices so vigorously, that they were compelled to leave the country. The queen also, highly indignant at such an assassination, held them in the greatest abhorrence; as did the nobility, and the other subjects of the kingdom; and the king hated them even more. For as soon as he arrived in the said city, he ordered it to be notified by public proclamation, that what the murderers (who had killed Signor David) had propagated concerning his majesty was by them falsely invented: and he expressly ordered to all the state officers of the said kingdom, to make a diligent search, and imprison those who had assisted the said murderers in the said deed, whosoever they might be, and bring them to capital punishment. And if there were any who secretly aided them, he desired that they should be subjected to bodily punishment; likewise, that those who faithfully executed the said order should be liberally rewarded; and, in order to show an example to others, he had, in the mean time, four of those who were present at the said murder apprehended, of whom two were executed on the spot.

Some friends of those who were in exile, observing the severe punishment to which the king subjected them, did not fail to advertise the others of it, who, for this reason, conceived such a hatred against the king, that they industriously sought every opportunity of revenging themselves on his majesty; for he had publicly denied the order which they said he had given to them, and the letters with which they stated he had furnished them; and they were well assured that during his life, they could in no manner remain with safety in Scotland; but that they would always be in an uncertainty of their lives, their property, and honours. Many others were also of the same opinion. Some time after, to the end that they might the more readily accomplish their wicked design, they promised to forget all that was passed, and by good offices of true friends, to satisfy those whom they had formerly offended and bore hatred to; and by such persuasions and sweet words, they solicited those who could aid them in regaining the queen's good graces, and, among other noblemen, they also applied to me for the same purpose: wherein I did all I could, in such a manner that they obtained their request, for

they had great confidence in me, on account of the favour with which her majesty honoured me, and the influence which I had with her, which I had acquired solely by the faithful discharge of my duty in the wars of the late queen her mother, and also in the troubles of her own reign, in which I repeatedly hazarded my own life, and incurred great expense, for which she has generously rewarded me, as well by presents as by offices of high rank. Having obtained their pardon, and permission for them to follow the court, I intended to live in peaceful retirement, after the imprisonment and anxiety of mind I had suffered, and think no more of revenge or quarrel. But those to whom this grace had been shown, following the court, became so obedient, and exhibited such benign manners to every one, that all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom greatly rejoiced thereat, and particularly at the extinction of all quarrels in the said court. Notwithstanding this, they persevered in their evil designs without intermission, day and night, seeking out means of putting the king to death.

My determination.

Their dissimulation.

Some time after, the king fell sick of the smallpox,¹ and a lodging was prepared for him in a place called Kirk-of-Field, (to prevent his injuring the queen's and the infant's health,) until such time as he should recover. This was done by the consent of the queen and the Lords of her Council, who wished to preserve the health of all parties.

Then the traitors, finding the opportunity so favourable, brought a quantity of gunpowder, and took it into the house where the king was, and put it under his bed, afterwards setting it on fire, so that the king was blown up and killed. This was done at the house of Sir James Balfour, on whom the queen had at that time bestowed a benefit, and to whom she had given the government of Edinburgh Castle, with all

Fifth sedition.

The king's death.

¹ The words of the original are "*petite roniole*;" and it is remarkable that "*petite verole*" (smallpox) had been written before, and the word "*verole*" expunged, apparently by Bothwell himself, *roniole* being written instead of it above the line. Thus it appears plain that he wished to express a disease different from the smallpox. *Roniole*, more modernly spelt *rognole*, means *itch*. What sort of itch Bothwell may have alluded to, it is impossible to say. The word "*petite*," belonging to *verole*, and not to *roniole*, may have been left unexpunged by inadvertence.

her treasures, jewels, vessels of silver, wardrobe, and furniture, this being the strongest place in the realm.

Evidence respecting the place where I was when the king was betrayed.

The same night on which this deed was committed, some noblemen of the Council happened to be with the queen, at the Palace of Holyrood, as usual. I was also lodged within the precincts where the guard usually is quartered, which consisted of fifty men. And being in my bed with my first princess, the sister of Earl Huntly, her brothers came in the morning to inform me of the king's death, at which I was highly distressed, as also many other noblemen with me.

Careful search made by the Earl of Huntly and myself, by order from the queen and the Lords of her Council.

The said Earl of Huntly was of opinion that a Council should be held immediately, to deliberate about the means of apprehending the traitors who had committed the said deed. Then we were ordered by the queen, who was greatly distressed and afflicted, with the Lords of the Council aforesaid, to gather together some soldiers, in order to make a diligent search for the said traitors, and apprehend them. This we did, and, coming to the house where the king lay a corpse, we first put his body under a guard of honour, and then we found a barrel, or cask, in which the powder had been, which we preserved, having taken note of the mark upon it.

Their contrivances to throw suspicion on others.

In our fury we apprehended some persons suspected of the deed, and put them under arrest, until they should render to us a sure account of the place they had been when the murder was committed. Nor did I ever cease making strict search, that I might get at the bottom of the whole; for I could not imagine that I could ever be suspected. Some Lords of the Council, fearing lest the queen and myself should make inquiries respecting them, united themselves, and manœuvred against the queen and the rest of us, in order to prevent our arriving at any certainty. They did not fail also to make use of all their cunning and falsehood, fixing advertisements and placards during the night on the town-house and doors of churches, and about public places and thoroughfares, in order to throw on me the suspicion that I had committed the said deed.

My earnest entreaty to be tried.

By these means, finding myself blamed and accused of a crime of which I and all mine were innocent, (God be my witness !) I entreated the queen and the Lords of her Council

to permit that I might stand my trial in a court of justice; and, when a strict inquisition had been made, if I were found guilty, that I should be punished according to the nature of such a crime; in the same manner, if I were found innocent (as I actually was), then that a stop should be put to the rumour and the scandal circulated. This was agreed to, and a day fixed on which I was to appear in court.

The Lords of the Council assembled at the place appointed for my trial, and along with them a great number of the nobility and commoners. Among the Lords of the Council, and the said nobility, who were to judge in my cause, there were even those who had taken a part against me: the Earl of Morton, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindsay, the Lord Sempel, the Secretary, the Clerk of Justice, and the Clerk Register; and, after the points of impeachment against me had been read, and my adversaries (particularly the prosecutor, the Earl of Lennox, who, having been summoned, did not, however, appear) had found that they had no just cause against me in any manner whatever, neither against my person, my property, nor my honour, I was, according to the custom of the country, by the sentence of the judges, and the consent of the prosecutors then present, declared innocent, free, and discharged of every point in my indictment, which was for being art and part in the plan and execution of the murder committed on the person of King Henry, my lord and master—a charge which could in no manner be proved; but, on the contrary, I established an *alibi* by competent witnesses. My enemies and prosecutors having found that I was free and discharged, and that I had gained my cause, rose and ardently entreated me not to call them to account for the unjust complaints they had made against me; but their proposals were as far from their heart as they were near their lips, as I have afterwards experienced, and feel at this present.

A second time, according to the custom of the said country, and in conformity with the laws of arms, I caused a proclamation to be made in Edinburgh, and letters, under my seal, to be affixed on the church-doors, on the town-house, and other public places, in the following form: "In defence of my honour and reputation, if there be any noble or commoner,

My first appearance in court, and my defence.

My sentence.

Protestation of my adversaries.

My letters of defence publicly exhibited in my just cause.

rich or poor, who presumes to accuse me of treason, open or secret, let him present himself, that I may give him battle in this just cause." To which no man ever responded.

My sentence confirmed by Parliament.

The third time I asserted my innocence in the presence of a general assembly of the Three Estates, the secular nobility, all the bishops, abbots, and friars, and all the principal inhabitants of the kingdom, where my entire process and sentence were read and reviewed, all points being well considered, whether my cause were legally judged or not, and whether there were not some points or articles fraudulently introduced.

The articles published.

It was by them declared, that the procedure had been according to right and justice, and the laws of the country; and consequently I remained free and discharged of all accusations. Moreover, it was proclaimed and published, that, on pain of death, none should be so presumptuous, after the said day, to accuse or calumniate me or mine for this said cause.

Having gained my cause as aforesaid, there came to my place of residence twenty-eight of the said Parliament, of their own free accord, without being asked; being twelve earls, eight bishops, and eight lords, doing me the honour of offering me their alliance and friendship, in the manner following:—

The polite offers, alliances, and promises which were made to me by the Lords of Parliament.

In the first place, they expressed themselves satisfied of my having done my duty in clearing my honour of all things laid to my charge, and that they accordingly would devote their own persons, property, relations, and friends, and everything thereon depending, to defend me against, and in opposition to, all those who should, in time to come, call me to account, in any manner whatever, for the said crime. Moreover, they returned me thanks, every one in particular, that I had comported myself so amicably towards them. And they farther thus addressed me: That they observed that the queen was a widow, and might have more children, having, as yet, had only a young prince; that they would not permit her to marry a stranger, and that I appeared to them the most worthy of those that were in the kingdom; that they were, therefore, resolved to do all in their power to the end that

this marriage might be accomplished; and that they would oppose all those who should in any way hinder it.

At the same time, they deliberated in what manner I could lawfully repudiate my first princess, according to the divine laws of the Church and the customs of the country; on which they instantly agreed.

My wife
repudiated.

In the like manner they presently had a conference with the queen about the means by which her marriage with me might be solemnly accomplished, in their own presence, and that of the Church assembled.

The marriage between the Queen of Scotland and me.

The marriage being consummated, and everything conducted in right and due order, they presented me with the government of the realm, that I might regulate the police, especially on the English frontiers, on account of the murders, plunders, and larcenies which were there committed on both sides. To this I agreed; and accordingly, I took my departure from Edinburgh, along with the queen, who wished to accompany me to the castle of Borthwick, situated seven leagues from the town, where she intended to abide my return.

The Lords of the Council desire me to go to the frontiers to establish order there.

Arriving on the Border, I found the marauders so strong, that it was impossible for me to put them down, for which cause I instantly returned to Borthwick, where the said queen was, in order to assemble greater forces.

Then the rebels, my enemies aforesaid, finding that I had taken the field with a small number of people, used every effort to surround and to slay me: for this reason, I suddenly departed, in order to gather together my friends, and the queen's faithful subjects; which I did so effectually, that I released the queen from the said castle, routed my enemies, and pursued them to Edinburgh, where they were received—the said city and castle deserting our cause and surrendering to them.

Sixth
sedition.
2000 men.

The Earl of Huntly and the Archbishop of St Andrews, with several other Lords of the Council, who were then in Edinburgh, armed themselves immediately, when they observed this chance, in order to defend themselves against the said rebels, and preserve the said city. This, however, they were unable to do, as the opposite party was stronger. Thus we found ourselves deceived in that quarter.

When the said earl and archbishop found that they could not resist the rebels, they, in order to save themselves, repaired voluntarily to the castle, stipulating that they should be at liberty to return whenever they pleased. But neither faith nor promise was kept with them.

The two
armies in
the field.

Then the queen and myself, in order to deliver them, departed from the castle of Dunbar, with as great a number of soldiers and faithful subjects of her majesty as we could assemble in so short a time, and approached the said city of Edinburgh, within the distance of a German league. The said rebels came out of the city, and encamped opposite to us, at the distance of a cannon-shot.

They state
the causes
which in-
duced
them to
take the
field.

Shortly after, a gentleman from their side presented himself, and exhibited the principal causes of their appearance there, printed as follows: In the first place, in order to deliver the said queen from the captivity in which they said she was held by me; and, in the second place, in order to avenge the death of the king, of which I have spoken before, and of which I and mine were accused.

I answered to the first point, that I held the queen in no captivity, but that I loved and honoured her with such humility as she deserved, for which I referred them to herself.

To the second, I constantly denied having participated in, or consented to, the death of his said majesty; and although I had been already sufficiently cleared of it, I presented myself anew, if there were any nobleman of honour and of irreproachable descent, who should accuse me of such a deed; and stated myself to be ready to defend my honour and my life on the spot, between the two armies, according to the letters which I had before published in Edinburgh, and the ancient customs of arms.

I accepted
the chal-
lenge of
Lord
Lindsay.

To which I received answer, that there was one called Lord Lindsay, who was willing to meet me in the field; but this the queen, and the Lords who were with her, did not find reasonable, for the following reasons: That the said Lord Lindsay was not of so great a parentage that he could compare himself to me, nor of such ancestry or house; and, moreover, that I was a husband worthy of the queen.

I, however, so persuaded the queen and all the rest of them,

with many reasons in my just cause, that finally they consented that the combat should take place as aforesaid.

A little after, I went to the place appointed for the said combat, there to abide my enemy, where I remained until very late in the evening, he not showing himself, nor making any sign of his intending to appear, as I shall prove, whenever it shall be necessary, by the testimony of a thousand gentlemen, on pain of losing my life. When the night approached, I prepared myself to give them battle, and put my harquebussiers in order for marching against them: they, on their side, did the same.

The queen observing me and her good subjects on the one side, and the rebels on the other, ready for the attack, the Laird of Grange (who was one of the best warriors among our opponents) put her in mind that he and his associates were gathered together to deliver her majesty from the miserable servitude in which I kept her,—a thing which she denied openly in the presence of them all.

We thus being ready for the charge on the one side, and they on the other, the queen, seeking by all means to prevent blood being spilled on either side, went over to them, accompanied by the said Laird of Grange, intending to negotiate with them, and accommodate matters amicably; and, inasmuch as she expected that she could go and meet them in safety without any treason, and that no person would presume or dare seize her person, she desired me not to advance with my soldiers. I then requested her to consider well what she did, and to take care that she should not be a loser by her goodness; for I sufficiently knew their hearts to be full of treason, and that, if she did not consent to their demands, they would take her prisoner, and afterwards deprive her of her authority, without any just cause. I likewise entreated her to retire to Dunbar, and let us fight for her just quarrel, according to the zeal which we had for her honour and service, and the love we bore to the public good and the tranquillity of our country. But finding it impossible for me to dissuade her from her purpose, or incline her to listen to any remonstrance, I requested her to have herself furnished with a safe-conduct, with certain conditions which I should

He who offered battle to me did not make his appearance.

The queen's answer respecting the captivity in which they said I held her.

The queen holds a conference with the rebels.

The counsel I gave the queen not to confide in their fair promises.

A guarantee for the queen's

safety is
demand-
ed.

propose to them. The said Laird of Grange, who appeared in behalf of the opposite party, did himself, in their name, give such a promise and assurance.

False
assurances
given to
the queen.

For it must be observed, that the said Laird of Grange stated that he was, for this only reason, delegated by all the others jointly, for offering the queen, as their superior, true homage, and for giving her assurance and safe-conduct, while going to meet them: he said, that every one of them, according to his degree and dignity, desired nothing more than to yield to her all honour and obedience (next after God) in everything which her majesty might be pleased to command. All this having been agreed upon, and promise given that it should be inviolably kept and adhered to, by both armies, in the presence of the nobility and commoners who were there on the spot, she desired me to return to Dunbar with my army, where she would shortly meet me herself, or at least send me word.

Thus I parted with her, she having requested me so to do, relying on the pledged faith and promises which they had given to her by word of mouth, as well as printed letters (*lettres imprimées*). These things being considered, every one may clearly perceive that their intention was, has always been, and still is, unjustly to encroach on the authority and power of the queen their lawful princess; they themselves, under such a pretext (after having deprived her of her authority), wishing to govern the kingdom, and dictate the law to it universally.

The queen
taken pri-
soner:

brought
to Edin-
burgh:
to Loch
Leven.

After these transactions I parted with the queen, and she went to meet them, who instantly took her prisoner, and put her under a strong guard. They first carried her away to Edinburgh Castle, where she only remained one night. The day following, they brought her to another castle, situated on a small island called Loch Leven, thus preventing her from communicating with others, or receiving tidings from us, fearing lest we might make an attempt to deliver her from the said castle.

The Coun-
cil assem-
bles to de-
liberate

Thus finding the long-meditated and treacherous plans of our enemies successful, we had a meeting with the following noble lords; first, in the western part of the country, and

afterwards in the north, and deliberated about every means about the queen's liberation.
by which her deliverance might be effected.

The Duke of Chatelherault.

<i>Earls.</i>	<i>Bishops.</i>	<i>Lords.</i>
The Earl of	The Archbishop of	The Lords
Huntly,	<i>de</i> St Andrews,	Herries,
Argyle,	<i>de</i> Glasgow,	Setoun,
Crawford,	Dunkeld,	Oliphant,
Errol,	Aberdeen,	Boyd,
Mareschal,	Murray,	Borthwick,
Eglintoun,	Ross,	Gray,
Cassilis,	Dunblane,	Ogilvy,
Roths,	Galloway,	Glamis,
Montrose,	Argyle,	Yester,
Caithness,	Brechin,	Sommervil,
Sutherland,	The Isles.	Drummond,
Monteith.		Lovat,
		Saltoun,
		Forbes,
		Elphinstoun,
		Fleming,
		Livingston.
	<i>The Abbots of</i>	
Arbroath,	Kilwinning,	Glencross,
Dunfermline,	Deir,	Corsraguel
Melrose,	Kinross,	

We were all of opinion that it would be best to wait a little, and not be too hasty in pursuing them, they being at that time extremely furious, fearing lest we might wish to deliver the queen whom they detained, whose life would have been in danger if we had pressed them too hard.

Accordingly, all those who were present resolved unanimously, and those who were prevented from attending ratified that resolution by their letters and seals, that I should pursue my journey to France, through the kingdom of Denmark, where I could provide myself with everything which my

The Council determines that I should go to France by way of Denmark.

situation would require; preparatory to sending soldiers into Scotland, both by sea and land. I was also to lay my complaint before the King of Denmark, and explain to him my whole case, being assured that this would induce the said king to give me his good counsel, assistance, and favour: and, in order to obtain this more readily, I was to offer him my service with all that I could command, and they were assured that the queen would approve of it. Yet, for more certainty, I actually obtained her opinion, which was, that she was perfectly pleased with what the Lords had advised me, desiring me to carry it into effect as speedily as possible.

I embark
from the
north of
Scotland.
I arrive in
the Ork-
ney
Islands.
Land in
Shetland.

This being accomplished, I embarked on the northern coast of Scotland as aforesaid, intending to follow this counsel; and, on my road, having business to transact in the isles of Orkney and Shetland, I went thither, and remained there only two days. I landed in Shetland, where I found some vessels from Bremen and Hamburg, and I wished to make an agreement with the masters of these vessels respecting the rate at which I should pay them a-month, as long as they should be in my service; for being in such a hurry, and so pressed, I could not provide myself with such vessels as I wished, and had only small vessels, such as I then could procure.

The agreement which I made with the Bremois, named Gerard Hemlin, was as follows: That I should pay him fifty silver dollars a-month for the time he served me; and if, during the said service, the vessel were lost, or even if I should wish to keep it myself, I was to pay him sixteen (hundred) dollars, and for his artillery, one hundred silver dollars, as will appear from the contracts made between us two. The same conditions were agreed to between the Ham-burgher and me. But while I was on shore at the house of the receiver, some of my enemies arrived and separated my vessels, as I now shall state.

My ene-
mies pur-
sue me
with four
ships.

The rebels aforementioned had got together four vessels, well armed and equipped with fighting men and artillery, under the command of the gentleman aforesaid, of Grange and Tullibardin, who, at the break of day, entered the harbour in the said island, called *Bresse Sund*, where there lay four

of my vessels : and when the masters of the vessels perceived them, my captains and soldiers being on shore, they cut their cables, as also the ropes by which the boats were fastened, and retired to another harbour on the north of the said island, called Ounst.

In the mean time their leading vessel, which pursued us diligently, watched that one among my vessels which was the slowest sailer, and this they pursued : my vessel was ahead ; the other followed. But it so happened that the enemy's vessel (pursuing mine which was not a good sailer) struck upon a sunken rock, together with mine, in such a manner that their said vessel, which was their best, and carried their flag, stuck fast ; but mine, although somewhat damaged, got off. When I heard that my enemies were about to land, in order to pursue my people, I immediately embarked with them in the said harbour of Ounst, where I had never intended to stay, but only to make head against my enemies ; but their three vessels came on me so unawares, and so pressed me, (as they had also done on a former occasion,) that I could not resist them. Thus I was compelled to set sail, and I ordered one of my ships (in which there was the remainder of my plate, wardrobe, and movables, which I had brought with me from the castle of Edinburgh) to go to a harbour called Schallowe, and there meet the Hambugher aforesaid, and bring the ship after me ; I keeping my course for Denmark as I had resolved. This the rest of my people, whom I had left in the said island, promised to do. The said rebels pursued me and pressed me in such a manner, that we continued fighting during three hours, and finally, by a cannon-shot, they cut off the main-mast of the best of my vessels : and suddenly there arose such a tempest from the south-west, that it was impossible for me to keep my said course, and I was driven upon the coast of Norway, where I was obliged to repair and victual my ships, which, on account of my hurried departure, were not provided with all that was needed.

Our engagement at sea.

My main mast shot away.

I reach the coast of Norway.

The day after my departure from Shetland, I arrived on the coast of Norway, in a place called Carmsund, whither I was brought in a vessel from Rostock, which had followed us

during the night, in order to conduct us the next day into the said harbour; for my pilots were not acquainted with the place. The captain of the vessel from Rostock did actually bring us into the harbour; and he sent us his boat for bringing one of our cables on shore.

In the mean time arrived Christen Olborg, captain of one of the King of Denmark's ships called the Bear, who asked us from whence we came, and whither we were going: to which the master of my ship answered, that we were noblemen from Scotland, intending to go to Denmark to serve his majesty. I ordered that the honour customary in the seas and jurisdictions of foreign princes should be done to him.

The cause
why I
would not
discover
myself at
first.

The said Captain Christen Olborg demanded to see our passports, or ship's papers, that he might know our charge. But I being in the same condition in which I am even now—that is to say, destitute and deprived of everything belonging to my rank, in consequence of having left one of my vessels, which I hourly expected—was unwilling to make myself known before I should have recovered it, and even to go on shore before I should arrive in Denmark: I, however, sent him one of my gentlemen, to inform him that, in consequence of the vigorous pursuit which had been set on foot against me in Scotland, I had not been able to take with me the certificates, or the ship's papers which he demanded, and that she [the queen] who ought to have furnished them, was detained in close captivity. Some time after, he desired that, if there were any person with me who could speak divers languages, he should come and pass the time with him; and to this I agreed.

Item, he requested the master of my ship, and several others of our party, to come on board his ship, for the purpose of victualling our own, and accommodating us with other things necessary, giving us to understand that there was arrived a ship in the said harbour which had wherewithal to assist us: but having got them all over into his ship, he amused them the following night, speaking them fair, and then called the country people from the neighbourhood, requesting them to assist the King of Denmark's ships, there being arrived, as he conceived, some pirates and freebooters,

whom he wished to make prisoners, according to the orders he had from the king his master. He did not let this be known, however, to my people, whom he had with him in his said ship, but persuaded them that he would bring them up to Bergen only, in order to provide them with such things as they might need. The said king's ship was, in respect of numbers, greatly inferior to ours.

Moreover, he desired me to permit that eighty of my people might remain in his ship, not that he entertained any evil opinion or suspicion respecting us, but only that, with regard to provision, this arrangement was more convenient, as no provisions were to be had in that place for money; and he gave a promise to us on his honour, that he would let every one of us return to his ship, and take our departure whenever we pleased, (and this promise he gave to us, by written letters under his own seal,) and moreover assured us, that we should have a safe-conduct to go, without any impediment, wherever we pleased: but he kept none of these promises.

Captain
Olborg's
written
promise
broken.

Having complied with every part of his demands, he proceeded to separate our people, who amounted nearly to the number of one hundred and forty, breaking his pledged faith and promise, without our knowing any cause, as we had never offended his majesty, or done the least injury to any of his subjects, nor violated the laws of the sea, nor even taken the value of a penny without paying for it. I then declared who I was, and whither I intended to go; in spite of which, he continued to detain me as prisoner like the others, contrary to my expectation: for if I had any suspicion of this, I might have acted and conducted myself towards him and his followers in whatever way I pleased, being twice his superior in numbers.

Arrived in Bergen, I desired Erich Rosenkrantz to let me obtain for my money proper vessels for the purpose of rowing me along the coast, (inasmuch as I was so sea-sick,) that I might as soon as possible reach Denmark, and requested him also to provide me with a passport. In the mean time, I remained during a whole month, sometimes in the castle, sometimes on board ship with my people; and during twenty days,

Arrival in
Bergen.

I several times took a walk through the town wherever I pleased : thus, if I had felt myself to be guilty of any crime, I had an opportunity to go wherever I listed. But I am thankful to the good Lord Rosenkrantz for the confidence he had in me.

I was deprived of my followers and then sent to Denmark; with only four or five of them.

Having long time waited for my passport, without which I would not depart, it was stated to me by some magistrates of the city, that Erich Rosenkrantz and the said magistrates had ordered that I should go with the ships of the said king to Denmark, it not being permitted that my people should follow me, unless it were four or five of them ; and they dismissed the others, that they might go to Scotland, or even wherever they might please.

The ship which was to follow me arriving off the coast of Norway, instantly returns.

The vessel which I had sent to Shetland, (in which was my property, my plate, my wardrobe, and jewels,) in order to bring my people whom I left there, hearing, as she proceeded along the coast of Norway, that I was detained, and my people sent back, returned also. In this manner I have not only been detained and arrested, as well here as elsewhere, nearly four months and a half, contrary to my expectation, as I thought I was come among friends, although unprovided with a passport, but I have also been slandered, and accused unjustly by my enemies, and been deprived of all things which my rank requires. This, however, I consider of far less consequence than the contumelies and indignities which I have suffered in this prison, and that I am, without any cause, detained and hindered from prosecuting the business which I have in certain kingdoms with some princes and noblemen, for the liberation of the queen my princess, and, as I think, to our dishonour, injury, and ruin, by those of whom I had expected aid and assistance.

SECOND LETTER FROM JAMES, EARL OF BOTHWELL,
TO THE KING OF DENMARK.

It not being permitted to me to speak in person to his majesty, nor to the Lords of his Council, to inform them of the cause why I undertook to visit this kingdom, I am constrained to

put in writing what I had indeed hoped to explain by word of mouth, and I desire this good Lord Peter Oxe, prime minister of the said kingdom, to present this my letter to his majesty. In the first place, there have occurred great troubles and disunions in Scotland, as well amongst the rulers as the commonalty of the said kingdom, because some of the said rulers have, under the cloak of religion, sought their private advantage, wishing in future, by such unlawful means and false pretexts, to reduce the kingdom under their power and authority; and for this cause the said kingdom is divided into two parties. The queen and myself having considered and understood that we could not appease them, nor put an end to this state of things by rigorous means without infinite calamities and great effusion of blood, we endeavoured to remedy it, and prevent such misfortune and evils by kindness: to this end the queen demanded security and safe-conduct from our adversaries for going and coming to them in order to consult and treat with them of means which should be acceptable to both parties, and which might, in the first place, serve to establish a perfect union and concord among her subjects, and be of utility and profit to the realm.

For this reason, our adversaries aforesaid, with their accomplices, promised to the queen the Lady Mary, and gave in writing their security and inviolable safe-conduct which afterwards they falsified and broke when the said queen went to meet them, detaining her as prisoner, and then carrying her away to the castle of Loch Leven, where she is yet to this day, as is more fully declared in the writing which I made on my defence, which I desire may be delivered to his majesty, that he may know the intention and final will of the said queen and of the Lords of her Council,—being as follows:

In the first place, that I should request of his Danish majesty, as the queen's ally and confederate, aid, favour, and assistance in providing me with soldiers, and with ships for liberating her from captivity.

Item, for the expense which may be incurred, that I should offer his said majesty to surrender the Islands of Orkney and Shetland, free, quit, and without any hindrance

to the crown of Denmark and Norway, as they have been sometime heretofore.

Moreover, to the end that his Majesty and the Lords of his Council may be better assured of what is written above (of that which is stated in the writing which I made in my defence, as well as what here is briefly repeated,) I entreat his majesty to be pleased to have the letters of cession of the said Islands of Orkney and Shetland, prepared with such and so strict conditions, as his said majesty and the Council of the kingdom of Denmark shall deem most satisfactory and secure; and I do, in good faith, pledge myself, that the said letters shall be sealed by the queen, by myself, and by the Council of the kingdom of Scotland, and signed by every one of us with his own hand.

Whereupon I beseech his said majesty to be pleased to give me an answer, in order that I may fulfil the promise which I have given to the Queen of Scotland, and to the Council of that kingdom, at their earnest request; and also, that they may know what they have to hope in this their extreme distress and necessity.

At Malmœ, the 13th of January 1568.

APPENDIX E.

SIR A. PAULET to SIR F. WALSHINGHAM.

Mary, Q.
of Scots,
vol. xviii.
22.

S^r. The honest man on Saturday last, the xxvth of thys mōth, brought vnto me thys lytyll packett inclosed, w^{ch} beyng so lytyll as could be nothyng aunswerable to that w^{ch} youe expect, and was not lykelye to contayne anye great matter, and the daye of metyng betweene the Substytute and the honest man approchyng so nere, I thought good to staye the said packett yn my hands for these few dayes, to the end the honest man shold not thynke that I had intelligence wth the Substytute, and therefore sent the said packett agayne to the

honest man, the xxviiith of thys pñt, to be delyvered to the Substytute the xxixth, and so beyng retournyd vnto me by the Substytute I send yt vnto youe. Yt may please youe to signyfy vnto me what course I shall take wth the Substytute hereafter, w^{ch} restythe to be consideryd only by youe, who are acquayntyd wth the secrettes of the cause. And wheras youe requyre me to rewarde hym, I purpose to geve hym fyve poundes yf I heare not from youe to the contrarye by yo^r next lres; but I wold thynk that yo^r friendes Substytute at London shold procure hys rewarde from thys Q., and yf yt be not sought at her handes, she shall have iust cause to thynk yll of yt. The treuthe ys, that he hathe had manye iourneys by thys occasyon, and therefore dothe deserve to be well recompensyd.

The xxviith of thys pñt, at x of the clock at nyght, I receavyd lres from M^r Phelyppes of the xxvth, together wth two severale packettes, the lesser beyng the same w^{ch} I sent vnto youe the xxist of this instant, and w^{ch} was delyveryd to the honest man for the second messenger who attendyd hys aunswer at Lychfield, and yt ys very likely that thys packett was delyveryd for hym, because the daye appoynted for metynge betwene the honest man and the Substytute was not yet come. Howsoever, thys matter was mystaken by thys people or by the honest man, I see no daunger or inconvenience yf we canne be content to have pacyence vntyll the arryvall of yo^r friend, who, as yt semythe, wylbe here shortlye. *M^r Phelyppes hathe sett downe a course for manye thynges to be done w^{ch} surely I dare not put yn executyon for feare of the warst,* wheryn I am also the more fearfull because yt semythe there ys hope that the iii^{de} of thys pñt great matter wyll come from thys people, w^{ch} myght be yn daunger to be stayed yf anye meane cause of suspycyon were mynystred by anye of the Agentes yn thys entercourse. M^r Phelyppes wold have the Substytute to sease vpon thys lytyll packett nowe retournyd from youe vnto me, whervnto the honest man wyll never assent wthout my especyll directyon, because he ys now to receave the said packett at my handes. Thys adventure myght brede manye daungers, and semythe to serve to no other purpose then therby to delyver a lre from the Sub-

stytute to Curle, the said lre contaynyng no matter that requyrethe especyall haste, and w^{ch} may not be done more safely by yo^r friend at hys cumyng. All ys now well, thankes be to god, and I shold thynk my selfe very vnhappye yf vpon anye instructyons to procede from me thys entercourse so well aduauuncyd shold be overthrowen. I have therfore resolvyd to open the retournyd packett, and to delyver only to the honest man the lre for the second messenger thereyn contayned, reseruyng the rest according to M^r Phelyppes directyon, so as yf anye questyon growe therof hereafter [w^{ch} ys not lykelye], yt shalbe sayed that the Substytute fyndyng the said packett yn the honest man's handes seasyd vpon yt, and toke out therof what pleasyd hym. Thus youe see that I am curyous to conserve as well my selfe as the cause out of peryll or hazard therof, wheryn I am the more bold because I see nothyng yn the other course that pressythe, and yet beyng myscaryed betwene the Substytute and the man myght bryng immynent daunger.

The honest man belevythe, verely, that thys second messenger came by directyon from yo^r friend, because he bryngethe a trewe token w^{ch} was that yn suche a place yo^r friend gave hym two Angells, and tellythe me farther that the second messenger semyd to myslyke greatly that thys Q. delayed to aunswer hym, and sayed that hys busynes wold not permytt hym to tarye so long yn these partes, but concluyd that he wold fetch fresh lres, and wold retourne the fowthe or fyfth of thys next monethe of July. He callythe hym selfe Barnes, and sayethe [untrewly I doubte not] that he ys verely alyed to S^r Water Aston and M^r Rychard Bagott. And thus I commytt youe to the mercede of the Almyghtye, who gave youe strengthe of bodye and mynde to overcome the troubles of thys crokyd tyme. From Chartley the xxixth of June 1586.

Yo^r most assuryd poore friend,

A. POULET.

The honest man bryngethe to the Substytute at thys tyme two Angells from thys Q.: w^{ch} surely I think shold have been delyveryd long before, and I marvell that the rewarde ys so slender, *doutyng least the honest man hathe kept the better*

part for hymself. I fynde that the honest man hath played his part at thys tyme very well wth the Substytute, accordyng to my instructyons.

*Addressed:—*To the Right Honorable S^r Fraunces Walsyngham, Knyght, her Ma^{ties} pryncypall Secretarye.

*Endorsed:—*29 June, 1586, from S^r Amias Poulett to S^r Fr. Walsingham.

S^r. Youe have sett downe a very reasonable and probable Vol. xviii. course yn yo^r lres as thynges appeare vnto youe there, *but I*²³. *fynd here, by reason of the cyrcumstances, so manye difficultyes as I dare not proccede to the executyon of yo^r directyon yn alle thynges,* w^{ch} I forbear the rather because I fynde nothyng yn yo^r lres that pressythe, and do retourne yo^r packett vnto youe inclosed hereyn. I have wryten more at lengthe to M^r Secretarye, and thus wyllyng to send a newe packett vnto youe wth spede, I praye youe excuse these short lynes, w^{ch} shal be longer another tyme. From Chartley the xxixth of June 1586.

Yo^r assuryd friend of old acquayntance,

A. POULET.

*Addressed:—*To my very good friend M^r Thomas Phelyppes, Esquyer.

*Endorsed:—*29 June 1586, from S^r Amias Poulett.

APPENDIX F.

GILBERT GIFFORD to SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

(State Papers, Scotland; Mary Queen of Scots, 1586,
vol. xviii. No. 40.)

Righte Honorable.

Barnes hathe not yet appeared in anie of his frequented places, so that I thinke he came not as yet to towne. I knowe not whether he hathe bin wth the Ambassador, for I dare not goe thether till suche time as I bringe the packet wth me. I am assured he shall no sooner come to the towne but I shall heare of him, and needes he muste come, for I have his letters wth me fro \ominus .

I trust M^r Philips will meete the saied packet by the waie, and use it, that it neede no delaie in deleverie.

Tuchinge the practisse in hande. Before my laste cominge over in discourse wth Morg., I smelled somethinge afar of, and he toulde me that he had sent one to sollicite matters heare, & misinge me that in time I shoulde knowe all, as occasion shoulde serve, for it is theire custome to discover thinges by litle and litle, albeit they truste one never so muche.

Now, yesterdaie, by greate inquirie, one Balart founde me oute, (I never was well acquainted wth him,) but he toulde me that he had saughte me greatlie, and that he knewe my endevourez thereughlie in the behalfe of the cause, and that he purposed verilie to have comen to me in the contrey, for, saied he, I thoughte you were there. After greate intertainemetez at the lengthe he bracke wth me into great complainte of Morg. and Charl. P., sainge that they & mised him intelligence verie ofte, and that he never harde frō thē since his cominge over; hereof I gave him some reasons of theire delaie.

Then he toulde me that at his cominge over he was directed to me, and that findinge me not, he was in greate & plexite, thankinge God that we were met together to be an helpe one

to another. He toulde me that he was on Satturdaie nighte wth the Ambas., and he expectethe letters dailie.

But, saied he, if they will not f^rforme that they p^romised, we will doe at the leaste oure partez, by w^{ch} wordez I p^reeved that I¹ thoughte me privie to the course.

I asked him what was to be done on oure partez; he replied that I muste needez obtain of S, her hande and seale to allowe of all that shoulde be practissed for her behalfe, wthoute the w^{ch}, saied he, we laboure in vaine, and these men will not heare us.

I answered that it was a matter of greate importance, and that we shoulde expecte Morg. and P. to doe it; he saied the matter woulde groe longe, and that he was in great daunger.

Well, saied I, in my opinion this was never obtained hitherto by anie man, and the grantinge thereof will be harde, but what p^rsuasions, what p^robabilitie of successe can you leaie before S, whereby he² maie be moved to graunte it; saied he, I will undertake wthin fortie daies to p^rcure his libertie.

Well, saied I, let us thinke of it, and to-morrowe I will answer you; so he parted oute of towne, and lefte his man wth me for answer, w^{ch} he is marvellouse erneste in.

This Balart is the onlie man used in this practise, whatever it be, w^{ch} I cannot thereughlie discover the firste daie; but in time it will be easie, for he desirethe my companie and helpe therein.

What youre Ho. thinkethe good I shall answer him; I desire to be enformed, and howe far I shall joine wth him, and keepe him companie, w^{ch} doinge it is impossible but I shall discover all.

He cōplained muche of S^r T. Tressō and my Cousin T. lbot, for not onlie they would not heare him, but threyned to discover him; and, saiethe he, *unlesse we obtaine that frō S all is but winde.*

I besiche youre Ho., so soone as the packet shall arrive, that it be cōvoied to me by this bearer, before w^{ch} time I cannot goe to the Ambas.

Balart toulde me that youre Ho. had an inklinge of some thinges, especiallie of the Amb. intelligence wth S; youre Ho.

¹ Sic in original. He evidently means "he thought me," &c.

² Sic in original.

hathe some verie corrupted men about him, wherunto greate regard is to be taken. He toulde me that Philips was gone to Chartley for the removinge of Nawe and Pie.

I truste youre Ho. cōsiderethe howe necessarie it is to entertaine D. G.¹ and Gratley.

For herby they be p̄suaded that theire is no other dealinges of myne, but that onlie otherwise it were unpossible but I shoulde be suspected.

D. G. cominge over woulde coulour me muche, as allso I can knowe his whole thoughtes, and no doubt he woulde be greatlie employed, so that by him I shoulde understande all theire courses, for he can hide nothinge frō me. Thus p̄testinge before God that nothinge shall passe my handes and hearinge but youre Ho. shall soone understand it, besiche the Almightye longe to p̄tecte youre Ho. This xj of Julie,

Your honor's faithfull servante,

G. G.

Indorsed:—To the Righte Honorable S^r Frauncis Walsinghā, Knighte, Her Mat^{ys} Principall Secretarie, 11 July 1586. From G. G., several Advertis.

I certify that the foregoing is a true and authentic copy.—
H. J. SHARPE, Assist.-Keeper of Public Records.

9th August, 1878.

(I have put into italics the passages relating to the handwriting of the Queen of Scots.—J. H.)

APPENDIX G.

(The following fragment of a paper on Adversity is entirely in the handwriting of the Queen of Scots. It is so full of corrections and erasures as to be in parts illegible, and it has been evidently thrown aside in a wholly unfinished state. It bears no date, but is preserved among the letters in the Re-

¹ D. G., apparently his uncle, Doctor Gifford.

cord Office of the year 1580. It was probably seized along with all other papers in her possession at Chartley in August 1586.—See Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi. No. 37.)

Celuy qui desire que son œuvre ne puisse a bon droict estre moquee ou blasonnee dun chascun doyt ce me semble avant tout aultre respect fayre si bonne ellection de la matiere quil pretend trayter que lon ne luy puisse dire cest adaiige encien *ne sutor ultra crepidam* voila pourquoy laysant trayter de filosofie aux filosofes des loyx aux legislateurs aux poetes leur chansons enrichies de fictions metamorfoses histoyres et profitables enseignements et brief donnant aynsin lieu a chesqun de rendre quelque tesmoignasge celon sa vocation de ce en quoy plus il auroit verse et profitay jay pence ne pouvoyr meulx employer mon temps fuiant oysiuite ores que ie nay le moyen d'exercer la charge en la quelle dieu ma apellee des le berceau que descire de la diversite des afflictions et des differents euenements dicelles et de ceste entreprise personne a mon aduis ne me scauroit iustement reprendre pour mestre subiect si familier et dont iay autant d'experience que personne de nostre asge mesmement de ma qualite et duquel aumoingns les beneuolles pouront tirer matiere d'exercer leur charite acomplissent ce commendement qui nous est donne de pleurer auuesques les pleurents principalement quant ilz vendront a considerer en quelles afflictions nous sommes iournellement subiects deuchoyr dont aussi ils prendront occasion en temps de soy retourner a dieu pour par oraysons et deuotes prieres destourner son ire de nous. Et les affliges comme moy qui viendront a lire ce petit discours et voient les exemples de ceulx qui ont souffert pareilles miseries dauuant eulx et quant et quant trouueront que leur remede a tousiours este de retourner a dieu qui les inuitera den fayre le semblable may pour; quil i a plusieurs genres d'afflictions les unes fons plus viuement linterieur de lhomme partie la plus noble et pour ce respect plus dangereuses les autres moyns qui seulement apartinent le corps, iay este daduis pour ne rien confondre de diuerse chesque espece d'aduersite a par soy, commençant aux plus grieues et dont ceste malheureuse fin a ceulx qui obstines en leur malice par ce delaysses de dieu en

ont este persecutes iusques a fayre mauuaise fin ce desperents eulx mesmes ou ne voulant ce reconoitre et amender et de tous ceulx si nous metrons poynne damener tousiours quelques exemples tant de lecriture que des enciens etenigues ou grands personages modernes et apres ce conleu puis nous deduirons au contrer de ceulx qui estant trauailles de semblables ou mesmes aduersites les ont receues comme iustes et fauorables chatiments de ce bon dieu et pere que ils reconoisent auoir si souuent et grieuement offence et par ce moyen les tribulations ont servi a ceulx issi de fournese pour esprouuer leur vertu comme est le fin or damesques lemanays et mesmes de leur fayre ouurir les yeulx par auant auuegles a ce conoitre eulx mesmes et leur feuilte qui est le commencement de tout bien et moyn daprendre a despriser ce monde et ces vanites pour ce resigner du tout soubz et au bon plesir de leur creatur qui en recompance leur a donnees des benedictions mondenes et spirituelles qui valent trop meulx et puis nous conclurons auuesques la grace de Dieu.

Or dongues suiuiant ma protestation precedante se metre au premier rang des aduersites pur la plus grande qu'homme donne ou puisse auoir la mauuaise et coupable conscience car cest ce per qui tousiours ronge et pour bien ou feisite que puisse posseder celui qui en est vexe iamays il na repos ni ne scauroit dormir en repos; tesmoyns denis le tiran; et tant d'autres car comme dit Cicero *in consciencia mille te tes* et de ceste pernisiouse peste fut mene au desespoyr iusques a ce fayre tuer par des siens Abimelec apres auoir tue ces freres estant seulement bien peu blesse dune thiule que ne femme lui layssa choyr sur la teste Achitofel voiant son conseil nestre receu que faulusement auoit baille contre le Roy Davit ce pendit luymesmes, Zambri¹ qui comme traytre tua son Roy au bout de 7 iours ce fit lui mesmes miserablement brusler en la meson Royale; et le pire de tous Judas ne fut il ataint de ce malheur quant reictant les trente deniers au temple il sescria auoir tray le sang iuste et innocent. May laysants la bible voyons ung Magus qui ayant tue Marc Marcelle aut telle horreur du fet quil sen fit autant a luymesme; Catuliuu de mesme voiant sa conjuration descouuerte ayma mieult ce priuer

¹ See 1 Maccabees, ii. 26.

de vie que souffrir tel remors et opprobre ; et entre les modernes lises P Jouue et ce quil dit du tirant Patauinus et ce que ie dis qui ambitieux a honneur ce sentant acuses oprins¹ ou soupseues dagun acte contre ou au preiudice disceluy se sont tant oublies de la justice de dieu qui enfin deliure les inocents de tout disfasme et que esface les pesches de ceulx qui en humilitay ce retournent vers lui selon la promesse quil nous a faicte quant il dit vous tous qui estes charges venes a moy et ie vous deschargeray que inpassiens de telle malheur qui veritablement est grand car notre seigneur mesme ce montra curieux de sa reputation quant il enquist de ces disciples de ce que lon disoit de luy. . . .² prenons lexemple de Cayn qui eniueulx de lhonneur que son frere auoit receu par le tesmoinasge que dieu randit dauuoir son sacrifice plus agreable que le sien au lieu damander le sien et par cela recourin pareil grace il fut si transporte denue quil comut un crisme veritablement digne dinfamie car il respandent le sang de son frere de quoy estant repris par dieu qui tousiours est prest de nous admonester en temps de nous retourner a luy : au lieu de reconoitre sa faulte refusa de sumilier ou demander pardon disan quiconque me trouvera me tuera o trop superbement conoiteux de lombre de lhonneur qui au lieu discelui perds le vray honneur cest fayre comme le chien qui tenant une piece de cher en la bousche la quelle dans leau luy samble plus graue il la laysse choyr pour courir a son hembre qui nest rien.

Jeroboam aussi estant repris par le prophete publiquement luy semblant telle remontrance de son pesche deshonorale commit un crisme au lieu desparer les precedents vrayment abomiabile commandant que le St. homme fut tue Ne ce souuenant point que le vray deshonneur cest de pescher . . .³ herodes de mesme cuidant cascher son vilainie inceste que St Jan publioyt pour leu dieuerti par ses reprehensions fut a la persuation de sa malheureuse et incestueuse compaignie de decapiter ce St. et digne prophete mays quoyque ne luy en aduent il double deshonneur car son pesche en fut plus publiquement conneu et adioustant ce meustre il refusa la grace et pardon de dieu delaquelle priue il mourut miserablement

¹ Illegible.² A sentence here illegible.³ Illegible.

et son nom nous demeure en examble de vilayne et abominable vie le peuple des juifs ne pouuoit souffrir telle vergoigne destre reprivis par St Etienne puis le lapiderent procurants par ce moyen leur eternelle ruine et la louange imortelle de celuy qui cependant prioit dieu pour ceulx. Car de tout autre il ia remede veu que dieu nous dit que si nos pesches estoyent plus rousge quescarlante il les randra plus blancs que niege et aux innocents leur glorie en cera plus grande si ils suportent ceste croix passiamment; et ie diray de Scipion l'Africain qui ce voiant a tort accuse vers sa patrie cuidant evader le desplesir de ce voir mepris des siens sadonnant a volontere vie au grand d'exil prejudice de la republique a la quelle pour son honneur il ne devoit pour nul respect manquer au besoing autrement ne scauroit il estre dit bon citoien qui est le plus honorable titre qu'homme puisse guaigner sauf celuy de bon chrestien. Coriolanus cheut en pareil ereur et pis car il de desesper ce fist enemy de sa patrie pour laquelle ruiner il vint avvesques une grande armee ou les fames ces parentes montrarent plus dignes citoyens que lui que esfassa par ceste inpassience daduersite ces faytes precedents digne de louange: ie vous parle des chrestiens et entre autres dun qui mest venu a la memoire pour lavvoir leu na pas long temps; il i eut dong ung nomme Pierre des Vignes chancelier de lempire homme de basse condition mayz touteveys de si bon entendement et docte quil fut pour ce trouue digne de telle charge et qui plus est si porta si bien que lempereur Federic esmu de sa sufisance et fidelite luy donoit tout credit et autorite de fayre et defayre ce quil vouldroit en son conseil, ce qui mut chose commune aux cœurs des grandes que faulcement luy suposerent lettres et tesmoigns iuuentes et subornes qui laccuserent vers lempereur dauoir intelligence avvesques le Pape Inoscent¹ auxquels ils feignoynt quil auoit reuele ces segrets et communique ces lettres lempereur trop soubdayn i prestant foy luy fit creuer les yeulx de quoy le pauvre homme ne ce sentoit sauf que de ce voir mesprise dun chascun et priue de lhonneur. Que sa

¹ Pope Innocent IV., who deposed the Emperor Frederick II.—See M. Paris, 663.

fidelite lui auuoit mene duquel luy fit si grieve que sa bonne cause il en fit une mauayse car ne pouuant viure en telle ignominie et mauayse reputation il le fit mesner en place ou lempereur entrent en leglise le pouuoit voir et la sasquit un bon fasme de honneur ce donnant de la teste contre un pillier de fasson quil si tua a l'instant.

Mays quoy oseres ie vous metre dauuant tes yeulx vn noble et vertueux prince et auquel ie me sents honoree appartenir¹ qui ne pouuant souffrir vn petit deshonneur saquit vn blasme et note en son illustre nom de mauais subiect en pire terme quil ne me seroit honneste lapeler mays quoy enfin il proce a si amnant pour venger une inure que perit foy son nom cest ces biens et son nom y la comment il en prend de ne receuoir les afflictions et chastiments de dieu en humilitay et passience quels que soient ; et pour nestre trop prolix sur tant de diuers points que ie desire trayter nous parlerons dela et ne doyt le chrestien a qui seullement nest permis murmurer des verges de dieu ayns pancer quil apris meriter et que il ni a crisme ni deshonneur que samandant et en faysant penitance ne puisse ettre effasce veu que dieu nous dit que si noz pesches estoyent plus rousges q.escarlate si a nous netient il les randra plus blanches que nesge et si nous sommes inocents notre recompence en cera plus grande et noltre gloire plus excelente dauuoir patiamment suporte la croix qui nous est imposee pour auguementer notre merite et nous esprouver.

et toutefoys o quel malheur nous verons tous les ours que pour cest honneur que les hommes ont forge en leur testes, les plus sasges et vertueux et grands personnasges perdront lavié et hasarderont lame et a la petit dun demantir ou parolle legierement dite ne feront consience layssant la loy de dieu apart comme estrangere non seullement de cherscher leur reuenge particuliere mays de tourner. . . . estats sans desubs dessubs iour si peu de chose quire parole qui nest que vent et la quelle celuy qui lauroit dite volontiers sendediroit si dautre part ceste loy enemye des hommes de celle de Jesus ne leu destournoit. Helas et que nous aurons en respondre ung iour qui permetons le prince du monde tant regner sur le

¹ I do not know to whom she here alludes.

troupeau que nous auons eusi estroite du grand bergier celeste dieu le fasche car ien suis pour ma part en grande pencement. Mays cependant cest temps maintenant de parler dun autre point qui rafflisge pas peu a mon aduis toute personne de bon naturel et qui a quelque chose de magnanimite. Dieu comme le bon pere de famille diversement distribue ces tallents cest ascauoir ses graces et qui les rescoit et ne les mit a proufit est deschasse et reuuoie a la poyne eternelle et celui qui les fayt profiter en resoyut double loyer et est mis et apeles en la ioye infinie comme nous enseigne la paraboll de lhomme riche qui allant enquerir un royaume layssa a lung de ses seruiteurs trois talents lautre deux et lautre une S.M. xxv. s. luc xix or comme dit S^{ta} omnia que scripta sunt nostra doctrina scripta sunt

Comme humilitay est le vertu le plus plesant a dieu celui dont toutes autres prennent racine uiroissent es perfection et source et augmentation de tout vice malheur et pesche mays toutefois si fault il auuoir esgnard et auuesques prudent iugement considerer que lun ne se pouuoit euter lon sabisgner en lautre iusques a tomber en la desagreable et ville fosse de pusilanimite chose trop contrayre aus esprits genereulx tels que doyuent estre ceulx qui par la prouision diuine sont apeles a tenir sceptre regnance et autorite sur le peuple de dieu

forsan et hæc olim meminisse iuuabit la douleur decuba de porsia de dido.

orayson de ieremy chapitre v.

nous naysons e pleurons.

la pierre reiectee des massons sera mise omnia que scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam

venes vous tous qui estes charges ie dit le queur

le prefete qui sennioyt de viuant et son hay fort

la mort pour la courge les lamentations de ieremie pour son peuple

le seaulme quant nous estions en babilonie es lessons complaints de iob

pleurs de dault pour son fils et pour son banissement
dieu pleurant pour son amy le lasser
et larbre de la croyx quant leloy
miserere mei saltem

beati qui lugent

fieri conflentibus

beati qui sitiunt

Il est commande de porter le fayx les vns des autres.

(It was evidently the intention of Mary, from her allusion to Hecuba, Portia, and Dido, as well as from the various detached texts of Scripture with which the paper closes, to have continued the theme. The original spelling is preserved, and it will be perceived that she very rarely employs capitals, and that no accents are marked throughout. Some of the words it seems to be impossible to make out, but the general scope and tendency of her reflections are intelligible enough. They exhibit in a remarkable degree her strong religious convictions, and her extensive acquaintance with history, both sacred and profane.)

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